

C. CRISPIS ALLUSTII
Bellum Catilinarium
Et Jugurthinum,
Cum VERSIONE libera.

PRÆMITTITUR

Dissertatio, in qua quam egregie conferant ad Linguam Latinam facilius promptiusque percipiendam, Auctorum Clasicorum Versiones Anglicæ, tam ad verbum quam liberius factæ, pluribus demonstratur.

Necnon et

Vita SALLUSTII Auctore Viro Cl.
JOANNE CLERICIO.
I. E.

The HISTORY of the Wars
of Catiline and Jugurtha, by

S A L L U S T.

With a Free Translation.

To which is prefixed,

A Large DISSE R TATION upon the Usefulness of TRANSLATIONS of Clasick AUTHORS, both Literal and Free, for the more easy expeditious Attainment of the LATIN TONGUE.

AS ALSO

The LIFE of SALLUST by the
Famous Monsieur Le CLERC.

By JOHN CLARKE, late of HULL, now of
GLOUCESTER.

L O N D O N,

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THE P R E F A C E.

THE Character of SALLUST as an Historian, is so well known, and so justly established in the Learned World, that I judge it needless to enlarge upon the Subject; and I decline it the rather, because I am sensible Encomiums of that Kind from a Translator or Commentator, are generally, and but too justly, suspected by the most sensible Readers, to proceed only from a Design to set off, or recommend more effectually his own Performance: Tho' how little I am disposed to that selfish Piece of Pedantry, the Preface to my FLO-
RUS may convince the Reader; and to give him yet further Proof of it, I shall here take Notice of the only material Fault I know of in SALLUST.

ONE of the Qualifications indispensably required in an Historian, is Impartiality. I grant our Author has given a remarkable Instance of this, in undertaking to write the History of Catiline's Conspiracy, wherein he could not avoid speaking much of his Enemy Cicero, in a Manner that could not but be for his Honour, which he has not only done decently, but with Commendation of his Vigilance and Concern for the Publick,

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under the Titles of Clarissimus Consul, and Optimus Consul. The former indeed he puts into the Mouth of Julius Cæsar. But he might notwithstanding have easily avoided that elevated Epithet ; since he has only given us the Sense, and not the Words of Cæsar, whose Stile is very different from that of his Speech in Sallust. This, I say, is a commendable Instance of his Impartiality, if he was not at the writing reconciled to Cicero, as some have imagined. But then, I think, he has failed as much in his Parallel betwixt Cato and Cæsar. It is an Outrage upon common Sense, to run a Parallel betwixt two Men of such opposite Characters, so as to leave it at last a disputable Point, which was the greater and better of the two : Insomuch that any one who was to know nothing of Cæsar, but by our Author's Account of him, would certainly take him for a very worthy glorious Man. Whereas his true Character is the Reverse. He was indeed a Person of vast Abilities. But then he had nothing in him, that bore any Resemblance of a Virtue, but what was directly intended to promote the worst and most wicked Design, that can enter into the Heart of Man to conceive, the Destruction of the Liberties of his Country. The Generosity, Easiness and Clemency, our Author celebrates him for, were in him Arts or Tricks, practised purely with a View to acquire, and secure to himself, the Possession of an arbitrary Power over his Fellow-Citizens. Otherwise he had so little of those good Qualities separated from such a View, that this generous easy Gentleman would have made no Scruple, to have swept the Globe of the Earth of one half of its Inhabitants, by Fire and Sword, or any other Methods of Destruction, in order to rule the Remainder at Pleasure. And, to use the Words of Cato in his Speech to the Senate, upon Occasion of Catiline's Conspiracy, Shall any one talk to me in this Case of Mildness and Mercy ? Shall that

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that Man be accounted, or stiled mild and merciful, whose insatiable Thirst after Power made him wade through Seas of Blood to come at it. He was not a whit better Man than Catiline, but had a great deal more Cunning, and much greater Abilities, whereby he at length executed with Success, what the other attempted only to his own Destruction. He was shrewdly suspected to be privy to Catiline's Design, and engaged in it. And the great Concern he shewed to save the rest of the Conspirators, makes it not unlikely. However, his having been concerned in a Plot of the like Nature before, and indeed his whole Conduct from his early Youth to his Death, plainly demonstrate, that his Concern for them, proceeded not from any Tenderness of Nature, or Regard to the Laws of his Country, as he pretended, in his Speech to the Senate, but from a Design to use them for the like Purpose, whenever a favourable Opportunity might present. It was absurd, as Cato justly observed in his Answer to him, at such a Juncture, when the City was in immediate Danger of being involved in Blood and Fire, and the whole Commonwealth ready to be swallowed up in one common Ruin, to stand dallying and dodging, as if all was safe and secure, and proceed according to the Prescription of Laws, which never were, nor ever could be designed for Cases of such a Nature as that was. When Villainy is carried to so dangerous a Height, by Power and Numbers together, as not to admit of the Observation of Laws designed only for common and ordinary Cases, without the Hazard of a general Ruin, or utter Dissolution of the Government, the Rulers of a Commonwealth, in such a Case, are discharged from all such Laws, and left to act by that of Nature or Reason, which allows of all the Methods of Violence and Force, that appear necessary for the Preservation of the State, from the Destruction that threatens it. Cæsar, in short,

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part, spoke upon that Occasion, like an artful ill-desiring Man; Cato like what he was, a brave and a worthy Patriot. And to compare two such Men together, whose Characters were as opposite to one another as black and white, in the Manner our Author has done, was vile Dawbing, setting a Gloss upon the most extreme Wickedness, to give it the Air and Lustre of Virtue and commendable Accomplishments.

BUT this indeed is the only Flaw in our Author of any Importance, or worth while to trouble the Reader about, that I know of. As to the Matter of his History, it is remarkable and engaging enough. Catiline's Conspiracy was such a villainous desperate Design, as is scarce to be paralleled in the History of Mankind, unless by the murtherous Projects, contrived by the Roman Catholicks, in Favour of their Religion, as they call it; especially that famous Plot bere in England against King JAMES the First and his Parliament.

THE War against King Jugurtha too, for the Time of its Continuance, is as full of important and remarkable Incidents, as any other in the whole Roman History besides. We see there to what a Height Bribery and Corruption were at that Time got in Rome; to such a Height indeed, that the Romans wanted but one Thing to compleat their Shame and Ruin at once, that is, to have had the Bill, which was preferred to the People against the Pensioners to the King, rejected. And this was what many of the Senate (in all Likelihood a very great Majority) endeavoured by clandestine Means, and fly Practices, to bring about. But the People corrupt as they were, yet were not wicked and shameless enough to come into so vile a Project, which had it succeeded, must, in all Probability, have made Jugurtha Master of Rome. To conclude, we may learn, from this and the subsequent Part of the Roman Story, 'till Julius Cæsar executed his long projected Design

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Design upon his Country, this Lesson, that where Bribery and Corruption prevail amongst the Governors of a Free State, unless some powerful Remedy can be speedily applied, there the Destruction of Liberty must unavoidably and presently ensue.

AS for the two Orations, as they are called, of Sallust's to Cæsar, about settling the Government, I have not thought fit to translate them, as well because of the vile Flattery they are dash'd with, as also because having been less read and regarded than the History, they have not been conveyed down to us so correct, insomuch that the Sense seems to be quite lost in some Places, by the extreme Corruption of the Text, and in others the present Reading is at best disputable.

AS Translations of the Classick AUTHORS, both Literal and Free, are exceeding useful in learning the Latin Tongue, I have thought fit to subjoin to this Preface my Dissertation upon that Subject, but considerably enlarged. I am afraid indeed, the most judicious of my Readers may think, I have given myself a needless Trouble, in dwelling so long upon so plain a Subject. But I must beseech such to consider the great Importance of it, and withal the strong Prejudice many, even School-masters, are possessed with against the Use of Translations, and perhaps they may find Reason to be of a different Opinion. A Person that was a Stranger to the Absurdities of the Church of Rome, would certainly think it a very needless Thing, for any one to go about to prove in a long Discourse, that a Bit of Bread cannot be a human Body. And yet to that Necessity have the Reformed been driven, insomuch that many Men of the greatest Learning and Abilities amongst them, have writ largely to expose the Madness of that Assertion of the Romanists, and were never blamed for it. And therefore, tho' the Absurdity I write against, be indeed almost

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most as gross, as it is to maintain Bread to be Flesh, or a Penny-Loaf to be a Man; yet since a great many think quite the contrary, or at least pretend so, and upon that Pretence, reject the Use of Translations, and plead against them; I hope the Reader who considers this, will not think what I have urged against the common Method of Proceeding in our Grammar-Schools, in Favour of Translations, at all too much, or more than needed. For where Prejudice binders People from seeing what is right, in Matters of great Concern to the Publick, and so disposes them to decline and decry the Practice of it, there it will not only be excusable, but highly useful and necessary, to multiply Words, in order to set the Truth of the Case in as strong and glaring a Light as possible, 'till Prejudice vanishes before it. Now that the Opposition made by many to the Use of Translations is very absurd, and can therefore be founded upon nothing but Prejudice, or something worse, I have, I presume, in the Dissertation so abundantly demonstrated, that if it has no good Effect upon the Advocates for the common Method, it may at least prevent indifferent and unprejudiced Persons from being misled by them, and so operate in Time to a thorough Reformation of so palpable a Fault.

THE Method of Education commonly followed in our Schools, has long been the Subject of a general Complaint amongst the Learned. I very early became sensible of the Justness of that Complaint, and thought I saw clearly, how it was faulty and deficient in several Respects. And as no Attempts were made by any one to reform it, I thereupon took up a Resolution to try what I could do towards it myself. Which Resolution issued in the Publication of an Essay upon the Subject of Education, and several other Books, to support and render practicable the Method laid down in the Essay. But not finding myself at Liberty enough to pursue

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pursue the Design so closely as I wished, by reason of the cumbersome Employment I had upon my Hands, and being upon another Account quite weary of the Business, I quitted it, in order to employ my Studies and Pen more effectually in carrying on a Design I had so much at Heart, with this Assurance that if my Sentiments upon Education were right, I could not be employed in any way more useful to the Publick. And that my Sentiments were just, or at least that I was not greatly out, or widely mistaken, in the Method I proposed, I thought I had some Reason to hope, from the great Approbation it met with from the most able Judges up and down the Kingdom; of which I had good Assurance, by Letters, from several of them, as well as other Information. If therefore it shall please God to continue to me that fine State of Health I have hitherto enjoyed, and Gentlemen will be pleased to encourage me in my Project, I shall spare no Pains, to furnish our Schools with what further Helps are wanted in them. And I hope such Gentlemen as have done, or shall do me the Honour to declare in my Favour, will further honour me by supporting my Endeavours for the Service of the Publick with the Favour of their Recommendation, in order to banish out of our Schools, that Absurdity in Practice, which has hitherto generally prevailed therein. If they please but to interest themselves in the Business, all Obstructions to the Work arising from Ignorance or Prejudice, or what Motives soever, will quickly vanish; and we may soon see such a Revolution in our Schools, as will tend greatly to the Advancement of Learning and Virtue amongst us.

The



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A
DISSERTATION
Upon the USEFULNESS of
TRANSLATIONS
OF
Classick Authors,
Both *Literal* and *Free*,

For the Easy Expeditious Attainment of the
LATIN TONGUE,

Being an Extract from the *Essay upon Education*, and other Books, published by Mr. CLARKE, late School-Master of Hull, now living in Gloucester; but very much enlarged with further Thoughts upon the Subject, humbly offered to the Consideration of the Learned, in order to a Reformation of the vulgar Method of proceeding in Grammar-Schools, as to that important Article of Education, the Teaching of the *Latin Tongue*.

 **W**HOEVER duly considers the vulgar Management of Youth in our Grammar-Schools, will see Cause to wonder, that amidst the noble Endeavours for the Advancement of Learning, a right Method of Education has been in a manner wholly overlook'd. Whilst the Great Men in the Common-wealth of Letters have been busily and successfully employ'd, in improving and carrying on the several Arts and Sciences, they have neglected what was equally necessary, the Care of Youth. For had but this been as duly attended, as the Importance

portance of the Matter required, their Labours would have been of vastly more Use to the World. Grammars and Notes upon Authors we have in Abundance indeed, and more by far than are good for any thing; yet these where they are useful, are only so to such as have made a considerable Progress in the Latin Tongue. But Beginners have been left wholly without any proper Helps, till of late some few have been provided for them, by one engaged in the laborious and troublesome Employment of teaching School, who consequently had both less Time, and less Ease of Mind for that Work, than many others better qualified to promote a rational Method of Education amongst us, had they been pleased to turn their Thoughts upon the Subject, and push the Matter, by supplying our Schools with proper Books for the Purpose. But the Learned, it seems, have thought Things of this Kind below their Notice. There was more Credit and Fame to be got by writing for Men than Children, and therefore the latter have been strangely neglected.

As the Course of Life I was several Years engaged in, obliged me to turn my Thoughts this Way, I have long since published my Sentiments upon the Subject, in a Treatise under the Title of an *Essay upon the Education of Youth in Grammar-Schools*. What I have there said, and elsewhere, upon the Usefulness of Translations for the easy expeditious Attainment of the Latin Tongue, I have thought fit to draw together under one View, but much enlarged with further Thoughts upon the Subject, in order to turn more effectually the Attention of the Publick upon a Matter of such great and general Concern.

TRANSLATIONS are of two Kinds, or there are two Ways of translating Authors for the Use of Schools, the one *Literal* or *Verbal*, in which the Latin is rendered into English Word for Word, or the Sense and Meaning of every Word in the Original is given in the Translation; the other *Free* and *Proper*, wherein Regard is only had to the Sense, which the Translator endeavours to express in the most just and handsome Manner, without pretending to give the precise Meaning of every individual Word, as in the Literal or Verbal Way. Now both these Sorts of Translations are so highly and apparently useful, for the ready Attainment of the Latin Tongue, that it is really amazing the World should not long since have been sensible of it; and it is yet more amazing, that after so much has been said upon the Subject, and Translations too of several Authors provided for the

the Use of Schools, to which no Exception has been taken, as ill done, that ever I could hear; yet a great many of our Masters should shew so strong an Aversion to what is so manifestly calculated for their Ease, at the same Time it is fitted for the greater Improvement of Youth under their Care. In order to open the Eyes of such, if possible, upon a Matter so much for their Quiet, Interest, and Credit, I have thought fit to present them with this Dissertation. I shall therefore speak distinctly to the Usefulness of TRANSLATIONS, both *Literal* and *Free*. And first of the *Literal*.

WHEN Boys set forward in the reading of Authors, there are but three several Ways for them to proceed in. 1. By the Help of a Master to construe their Lessons to them. 2. By the Help of a Dictionary. Or, 3. By that of Literal Translations.

I. As to the first, our Schools are very few of them provided with any more than two Masters; in which Case it is impossible for a Man that has three or four Classes to take care of, to give that Attendance to them all, in the Way of construing their Lessons to them, as to keep them employed a third Part of the Time they have to spend in the School. For it is not sufficient for a Master to construe Boys a Lesson once over from Beginning to End, in a Hurry (as is usual, I believe) and so clear his Hands of them, in Expectation that should serve the Turn, by keeping them properly employed, and he be no more troubled with them for his Assistance upon that Lesson. Alas! this will signify just nothing at all. If he would assist them to any Purpose, he must go over each Period of a Lesson distinctly and slowly by itself, more than once; and then try the Boys in it one after another, helping them out, where he finds them faulter, or at a stand; and not advancing further, 'till the slowest of them are pretty perfect in what they are upon. But then whilst he is thus engaged with one Class, the rest for want of Help, will have little or nothing to do, but gape and stare about them, if they be not worse employed. Besides, this is such a Piece of Drudgery, as few Masters, I believe, will have any great Stomach to. For where the Use of Translations is rejected, and the Master's Lungs are to supply the Want of them, he in regard to his own Ease, and to save his Breath, is apt to make very short Work of it, by setting the Boys but very little Lessons, not a third, or not a fourth Part of what they might easily get, and to greater Perfection, by the Help of a Literal Translation, without giving him any Trouble

Trouble at all. Two Thirds then of their Time at least must be spent in sauntering, or trifling; and therefore this Way of proceeding will not answer the Design proposed, or produce the desired Effect, the speedy Progress of Youth in their Business.

I may add too, that perhaps not very many Masters are qualified to furnish their Scholars, in construing their Lessons to them, with Words so fit and proper for their Purpose, as Literal Translations will, done by a Person qualified with a competent Skill in the Language for the Work. If any one wants to be convinced of this, let him make a Trial upon some of the Clasick Authors already published with Literal Translations, *Justin* or *Florus* for instance, by translating three or four Chapters together, and comparing what he does with what is already done, and I doubt not, but he will receive ample Satisfaction of the Truth of what I have said. For tho' he may find his Performance to have the Advantage upon the Comparison, yet he will certainly find it cost him some Thought and Trouble here and there, to work it up to that Perfection. For the Latin Idiom differs so widely from the English, that it is no such easy Business, as some may perhaps imagine, to translate the Clasicks literally, and at the same Time with tolerable Justness and Propriety of Language, so as the English may bear a Reading, without appearing absolutely barbarous and ridiculous. It was this Difficulty of the Work, I guess, which deterred those whose proper Business it was, from attempting it, and so has been the principal, if not the sole Occasion, that our Schools have not been long since provided with that admirable and obvious Help of Literal Translations, so obviously such, that many could not but be sensible of it, who yet being deterred by the Difficulty of the Undertaking, and the Fear of Censure, would not engage in the Task of supplying our Schools with any thing in that Way. Now if this be the Case, if it be no such easy Matter to translate the Clasick Authors literally, with any tolerable Justness or Propriety of Language, must it not be a vast Advantage to many School-Masters, to be delivered from the Vexation of hunting for proper Words, and oftentimes to no purpose, by being provided with good Translations, just and exact in their Kind? In short, I shall be bold to say, that not only Boys, but Masters themselves may many of them receive great Improvement in their Business, from Literal Translations of Clasick Authors.

II. As to the Use of a Dictionary. That Way is yet more improper than the former. Young Boys are but very awkward at finding Words in a Dictionary, which Work will consequently make a sad Consumption of their Time, a single Word requiring as much as will suffice them for the getting two or three Lines perfectly to construe by the Help of a Literal Translation. And then what a tedious while must they be in getting so many Lines to construe by the Use of a Dictionary, where they may have Occasion, as must often happen, to look out half a Dozen Words or more for that Purpose? Does not the Absurdity of such a Method of Proceeding stare the Reader in the Face? And how can Gentlemen be easy in having their Sons carried on in a Way so manifestly trifling? Which will appear yet more so, when it is considered, that young Boys can indeed make but little Use of a Dictionary, for want of Sense to distinguish, amongst the various Significations many Words have, such as are proper for their Purpose; not to say too, that the best Dictionaries will in this Case frequently fail them. But suppose all this was otherwise, yet by what Kind of Conjuration must young Lads, betwixt Ten and Fourteen, unravel that perplexed Order of Words in the Latin Tongue? This they can never do, give them what Instructions you will for it, 'till they come to have a pretty general Knowledge of Words; so as that upon reading a Sentence once or twice slowly and attentively over, they either discover the Sense, or come pretty near it. That alone, and not any Directions you can give Boys so young, will enable them to unravel the intricate Order Words usually have in the Latin Tongue. Now Literal Translations direct them immediately to the Order, in which Words are to be taken, and at the same Time immediately supply them with the Meaning of such Words as they want to know the Meaning of. All that has been said upon this Head, appears to me so very evident and incontestable, that for my Part I see not how it can be disputed by any one.

III. THERE is then no other proper Help left for young Lads in the reading of Authors, for the first three or four Years at least of their being at School, but that of *Literal Translations*. If Boys, who cannot conjure to come at the Meaning of Words, must be helped to the Meaning of them some Way or other, is not the most easy expeditious Way the best? And supposing a Master could assist them to keep them constantly employed (which every one must see to be utterly

utterly impossible) or supposing they might make a hard Shift to do their Business in a poor blundering Manner by a Dictionary (which is the utmost any one of the least Knowledge in these Matters can suppose) yet what Occasion can there be for either? when it is to the last Degree visible, their Business may be more easily and effectually done by the Help of Literal Translations. Is it not vastly more eligible for a Boy, when he is at a stand for want of the proper Order or Meaning of Words, to be set a going immediately by one single Cast of his Eye, than to be obliged to spend Time in tumbling and tossing the Leaves of a Dictionary backward and forward, or trotting perpetually up and down the School to the Master or his Schoalfellows for their Help? Is it not as absurd to deny this, as it would be to affirm that the best Way for a Work-man to go on easily and expeditiously with a Piece of Work, is not to have his Tools and Implements in the Shop or Work-house about him, all ready at hand, but to have them all to seek, some in the Kitchen, others in the Garret, others in the Yard, or the furthest Part of the Town; to be all carefully hid again every Night, that he may be sure to have them all to seek again the next Day when he wants them? Just like this is the common Way of proceeding in our Schools, where the Use of Literal Translations is rejected. Help of the best Kind is provided for Boys, by virtue whereof they may proceed easily, chearfully, and expeditiously, in their Business; and yet a great many Masters will not let them make use of it, but instead thereof, will oblige the poor Children to waste two Thirds at least of their Time in Sauntering and Play, or thumbing the Leaves of a Dictionary to Pieces, for the Benefit of the Book-sellers, who alone reap any Benefit from this Piece of Wisdom, whilst the poor Boys only lose their Time, and the Parents their Money by it.

BUT perhaps it may be alledged (for some I have known weak enough to make the Allegation) ‘ That the getting their Leflons by a Dictionary fixes the Meaning of Words better in the Memory of Boys, than the Use of Translations.’ To which I answer, supposing it practicable for young Boys to get their Leflons by the Help of a Dictionary, which I have shewn it is not, yet does the tossing over the Leaves of a Dictionary to find a Word, contribute to fix the Meaning of it, when found, in the Memory? If so, the longer Boys are in finding a Word, that is, the longer they are e'er they come at the Sense of a Word, the better

they

they will remember it. Which is as much as to say, that the less Busines they do, the greater Progress they will make; which I fear is too ridiculous to pass with any body. The turning over the Leaves of a Dictionary, 'tis evident, can signify no more to the Purpose, than the tossing of a Ball, or the knocking down of Nine-Pins. What is it then that is of Use for fixing the Meaning of a Word in the Memory? 'Tis plainly nothing but seeing it in the Dictionary, and repeating it over and over again. And is there any thing of Charm in the Name of a Dictionary, that the seeing the Meaning of a Word in a Translation running in a Column along with the Original, joined with the like Repetition of it, should not produce the same Effect, and conduce as much to fix it in the Memory? The reading a Word three or four Times over in a Dictionary, you say, will make a strong Impression upon the Mind. Will not reading the same Word as often over in any other Book, under any other Denomination, produce the like Impression? If not, it must be because the Leaf of a Dictionary, as such, has some strange bewitching Virtue in it, a Power of operating upon the Mind, and affecting it, which the Leaf of no other Book can possibly have.—*Rijum teneatis.*

I HAVE likewise heard it alledged, 'That the Use of Translations will make Boys idle;' an Allegation more ridiculous, if possible, than the former. As Boys Busines is by the Use of Translations rendered vastly more easy to them, if their Task or Lesson is increased in Proportion, as it ought to be, how is there any Encouragement given, or Allowance made, for Idleness? Translations are designed to assist Boys in getting their Lessons only, not in saying them to the Master. In this latter Case the Translations are to be under close Cover, that by the Manner of the Boys acquitting themselves, the Master may have Proof of their Diligence, or the contrary. And if the same Methods are taken to encourage Industry, and discourage Idleness, where Boys are helped by a Translation, as where they have the Help of a Master, or are left to the Use of a Dictionary, why should they not have the same Effect? If Sugar-Plumbs, Fruit, Play-things, or Half-pence, will make Boys attend diligently to the Instructions of a Master, or thrum their Dictionary heartily, will they not operate as strongly to make Boys diligent in the Use of a Translation? Or, if Correction be necessary, why should it not work up a Lad to Industry, as well where he has the Assistance of a Tranlation, as where

he has not? Will a Translation make him thicker skinned, or less sensible of Pain? *O rem ridiculam, Cato, et jocosam!* It is therefore a very sensible Thing to pretend, that Translations will make Boys idle. One Way to encourage them to Industry is, to make their Business easy and pleasant to them; which Translations certainly do: And therefore are a visible Means, not to make them idle, but industrious. Whereas in the vulgar Method of our Schools, Boys find it impracticable to do their Business to Content, and so are oftentimes rendered desperately idle, as being convinced by frequent and woful Experience, that no Pains, no Industry they can use, will avail to secure them effectually from the Lash.

THESE Objections against the Use of Translations have not however hindered, but that Translations have been thought so necessary for the easy and speedy Attainment of the Greek Tongue, that for above these hundred and fifty Years last past, no Authors in that Language have been publish'd without them. This might, one would think, have naturally led the World to the Pursuit of the same Method, at least with the easier Authors of the Latin Tongue for the Use of Schools. For must it not needs appear to any considerate Man a little unaccountable, that Translations should be thought useful and necessary for Men or elder Boys, in order to their more easy and speedy Progress in the Greek Tongue, but neither necessary nor useful for younger Boys, in the Attainment of the Latin? Is it agreeable to Reason or common Sense, to suppose a Boy of sixteen or seventeen Years of Age stands in need of a Translation, to assist him in reading of Greek, but that a Boy of ten or twelve may do his Business in the Latin Tongue easily and expeditiously enough without any such Help? Has a Child of that Age more Sense for the consulting and using a Latin Dictionary, than he has for making use of a Greek Lexicon, when he is arrived almost at the Years of Manhood? And what sorry Work would Boys make of it, if, upon entering the Greek Testament, they should be denied the Use of a Latin Testament, to help them in getting their Lessons, and be obliged to pick the Meaning of their Words out of a Lexicon? Every body can see the Absurdity of such a Manner of proceeding in this Instance, and would be forward enough to cry out against any Master that should be guilty of it. And yet the like Absurdity committed in the teaching of the Latin Tongue goes glibly down, and passes for the most proper Way of proceeding. Now what is it that disposes Men to make

make so wide a Difference, where there is none at all in the Nature of Things? Nothing but Custom, the great Rule that most Men usually go by in the most important Affairs of Life, without consulting their Reason at all. Very few have the noble Freedom of Mind to examine Things strictly and impartially, in order to make the Result of such Examination the Rule of their Conduct. The Generality chuse to save themselves that Trouble, by going with the Herd, *qua itur, non qua eundum est*, as a Great Man amongst the Antients words himself upon Occasion of making the same Remark, if my Memory fails me not.

As for the Hebrew Tongue, to facilitate the learning of that, *Arias Montanus* long since published the Hebrew Bible with an interlineary Version, for which, I doubt not, such as apply themselves to the Study of the Hebrew Language, are thankful to his Memory; at least they have a great deal of Reason, I am sure, having received myself a great deal of Benefit from the Use of it in learning that Language. And Mr. *Locke* was so sensible of the vast Help to be had from Literal Translations, that he did not think it below him to publish *Æsop's Fables* in the same Form as *Montanus* did the Hebrew Bible, with an interlineary Version. I grant indeed that Way of publishing Authors with the Translation so intermixed with the Original, is not proper for Schools. But however what those two Gentlemen did in that Way, shews sufficiently their Opinion of the Usefulness of Literal Translations. And the latter, Mr. *Locke*, thought so well of them, that he declares in his *Book of Education*, Mothers may by the Help of them teach their Sons the Latin Tongue themselves, if they please. *Whatever Stir*, says he, *there is made about getting of Latin, his (a young Gentleman's) Mother may teach it him herself, if she will but spend two or three Hours in a Day with him, and make him read the Evangelists in Latin to her. For she need but buy a Latin-Testament, and having got some body to mark the last Syllable but one, in Words of above two Syllables (which is enough to regulate her Pronunciation) read daily in the Gospels, and then let her avoid understanding them in Latin, if she can. And when she understands the Evangelists in Latin, let her in the same Manner read Æsop's Fables, and so proceed on to Eutropius, Justin, and other such Books. I do not mention this as an Imagination of what I fancy may do, but as of a Thing I have known done, and the Latin Tongue with Ease got this Way.*

To conclude, the Use of *Literal Translations* has no Difficulty in it, employs nothing but Memory. The Boys have proper Words all ready at hand, without the tedious and oftentimes fruitless Labour of hunting and poring in a Dictionary, or that of troubling their Master or School-fellows for them; and so go smoothly forward, without any Rubs in their Way, or Loss of Time, and with a great deal of Satisfaction to find their Businesse so very easy. And I shall venture to say, what I believe few Men of Sense, that will but duly consider what has been said above, will gainsay, That a Boy by the Help of Literal Translations would make a better Progress in the Language in one Year, than without them he could do in three or four.

NOR are Literal Translations of Latin Authors useful only for the lower Forms of a School, but likewise for the higher, or such as can read them pretty well, without any such Help, as well to bring them to a more compleat Acquaintance with them, in the most expeditious Manner, as likewise to a Readiness in the writing and speaking of proper Latin, by reading the Translation into the original Latin of the Author. Constant Conversation in Latin with such as talk it well, would indeed be of great Use for that Purpose. But then very little can be done in that way at School. For to confine Boys to the talking of Latin amongst themselves, before they have attained any tolerable Skill in the Language, is absurd, and a Means to prevent their ever speaking or writing it well. If Boys are to be so confined, they ought to be constantly attended by a good Master, to help them out upon all Occasions, by furnishing them with proper Language. But this is manifestly impracticable, where there are but two Masters in a School, or, as is oftentimes the Case, but one. A ready and proper Use of the Latin Tongue is a Matter of very great Difficulty, and never to be attained by Boys talking barbarously amongst themselves; if it is at all attainable at School. For my Part I never yet knew so much as one Instance of its being attained there, in any School that has come within the Reach of my Observation, or indeed any thing like it. Nay I have talked with very ingenious Men, of uncommon Learning, and besides Persons of considerable Experience in that Way, who looked upon the bringing Boys at School to any thing of a true and genuine Latin Stile wholly impracticable. Now, tho' I will not affirm this, yet I must be allow'd to say, it is a Matter of very great Difficulty, insomuch that I greatly question, whether any Method

thod that can be taken with them, will be found generally successful, in any reasonable Time, besides this I here recommend. All the Grammar indeed necessary for the Purpose, may easily be taught them: But when that is done, the Main of the Difficulty is still behind, as every one must be sensible that knows much of the Latin Tongue. A ready Use of proper Terms, and of proper Phrases, or Forms of Expression upon all Occasions, seems hardly attainable in any reasonable Time, or the longest Term of the Continuance of Boys at Grammar-Schools, but in the Method I propose. This, I say, will be the most ready expeditious Method that can be taken, at School however, to furnish the Mind with a Plenty of Words, and a Variety of Phrases and Expressions for the same Sense, and that without any Danger of Error, which the Use of Dictionaries and Phrase-books would be attended with. For none indeed can receive any great Benefit from them for that Purpose, but such as are good Judges in the Latin Tongue, and well acquainted with the Idiom thereof already.

LITERAL Translations Boys are to begin with, and after they have gone through four or five Authors, in the Method of reading such Translations into the very original Latin of the Authors, they are to be advanced to *free* and *elegant Translations*. Two or three of the finest Claslick Historians, with *Terence*, and some of the Epistles, and other Pieces of *Tully*, published with such Translations, would, in Conjunction with the Claslick Historians I have already published with Literal Translations, be sufficient for the Purpose of attaining a ready Use of a good Latin Stile, perhaps equal to Conversation itself, if not preferable to it, at least in one Respect more advantageous, by furnishing the *Tyro* with better Latin for his English, as oft as he wants it, than any, even the greatest Masters of the Latin Tongue, could help him to, in the Way of Conversation. For the great Advantage of constant Conversation for the Attainment of any Language, lies in the perpetual Exercise of the Invention, in what a Man says himself, and the like perpetual Assistance given to his Invention, in the constant Suggestion of proper Language by those he converses with. Now both these Advantages are to be had from the Method of Proceeding here advised, and the latter of them to a greater Degree of Perfection, than can be had in the Way of Conversation. For in conversing to attain the Use of a Language, the Learner employs his Invention to express his Thoughts properly; he hunts and casts about

about continually for Words and Phrases that may suit his Design. If he delivers himself improperly, or sticks and stammers for want of Language, those he converses with correct his Improprieties, and help him to what is proper, which he carefully attends to, and repeats, it may be, two or three Times to himself, to make it stick by him, against another Occasion. Just so too in attempting to read a Translation into Latin, the Learner stretches his Invention, and studies for proper Words and Phraseology, viz. that of the Original, which he has perused carefully over, comparing it Period by Period with the Translation to prepare him for the Work he is upon. If he cannot satisfy himself therein, or is at a Stop, one single Cast of his Eye upon the Latin Column informs him in what he wants, which he reads with close Attention over and over, in order to remember it against a repeated Perusal of the Paragraph or Chapter. Thus the Invention is as much exercised and assisted in this Way of using Translations, as in Conversation; in which Exercise and Assistance given to the Invention lies the whole Advantage of Conversation for the attaining of a Language. Nay, the Invention is more substantially assisted in the former Case. For the Classick Authors were Men of the most eminent Parts, who writ in their native Language, writ at Leisure and upon Deliberation, reviewed and corrected their Works, over and over, thereby reducing them to such an Accuracy and Exactness, as no modern Talker of Latin must pretend to in any Extempore Effusion, or the Swiftness and Hurry of Conversation. So that I think, I need not scruple to pronounce, that the Way of using Translations for the attaining to speak Latin, which I here advise, is even preferable to the best Conversation that is to be had in that Language.

BUT *Literal Translations* of Latin Authors are not only very useful for Boys at School, but Men too, especially such as having got a pretty good Insight into the Latin Tongue at School, but through Disuse forgot it in a great Measure, are desirous to recover it: Which may be done with a great deal of Ease, by the Help of such Books as I have already publish'd, viz. *Cordery, Erasmus, Eutropius, Florus, C. Nepos, Justin, Suetonius, Introduction to the making of Latin, a new Grammar of the Latin Tongue*. By the Help, I say, of these already publish'd, and some few more of the Classick Authors I propose to publish, partly with Literal, and partly with free and proper Translations, like that of my *Suetonius*, with this of *Sallust*, by an Examination of which Gen-

Gentlemen may judge, what they are to expect from me in a *Translation of Livy*, which I may perhaps in time attempt, if I find the Publick disposed to give Encouragement for it. One Hour or two employed in reading Classick Authors with such Translations, every Day, for a Year together, will bring Gentlemen that are ignorant of the Latin Tongue, to read Prose with Ease and Pleasure; after which the Poets will not be difficult for them to understand, by the Help of such Notes as they are published with, especially when the Way shall be paved for them, by a Literal Translation of *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, which I have ready for the Press, and design to publish with all convenient Speed. So that I am not wholly without Hopes, I may, by the Books I have publish'd, to facilitate the Learning of the Latin Tongue, have done a Piece of acceptable Service to such Gentlemen, as are desirous of regaining or improving the Skill they had acquired at School. Few grown People will ever have the Patience to hammer out such a Language as the Latin, by the Help of a Dictionary. That would require more Time than any one in a Thousand can or will spare. But in this Way of Proceeding, the regaining, or improving in, the Latin Tongue, will but be a new Kind of Diversion, which the World has hitherto been unacquainted with. The Time Gentlemen need to employ that Way, is less than those who are the most taken up with Busines, usually spend upon their Pleasures.

I PROCEED now to treat of *Free and Proper Translations*, wherein a large Liberty is taken of departing from the Letter of the Latin, in order to make the most handsome proper English. Now the great Usefulness of Classick Authors published with such Translations is so very apparent, that I wonder no body has attempted any thing of this Kind before me. English Translations indeed of many of them have been published by themselves, as being designed, I suppose, purely for the Use of such as are ignorant of the Latin Tongue, by presenting them, for their Information or Amusement, with that in English, which they could not come at in the Original, without any further View or Intention at all. But then such Translations may be of the greatest Use for other important Purposes, upon account of which it is highly convenient to have them published along with the Originals. As.

I CLASSICK Authors so published will be vastly serviceable for the easy and speed Improvement of such as having no great

great Acquaintance with the Latin Tongue, are desirous of attaining a competent Skill therein, so as to read Authors of all Sorts easily and familiarly. I do not say that Translations, wherein a good deal of Freedom is taken of departing from the Letter or Words of the Original, are at all for the Purpose of such as have but little or no Knowledge of the Latin Tongue, to begin with, in order to their learning of that Language! No. Such ought in the first Place to make Use of Literal Translations, 'till they have got a pretty general Acquaintance with Words; after which they may proceed to such as are Free and Proper, by the Help whereof they will read an Author substantially over in a fourth Part of the Time they could do without, to speak within Compass.

II. THE publishing of Clasick Authors with proper and handsome Translations, will be very convenient for those that are desirous to attain a Faculty of writing and speaking Latin with Propriety and Readiness. The Way will be to read the Original, and Translation together, 'till they can readily render the latter into the Words of the original Latin precisely and exactly. The being thus accustomed to see the Idiom of the two Languages go constantly together, joined with continual Efforts for rendering the one by the other, will make the Idiom of the Latin Tongue almost as familiar to the Mind as that of the English. And I shall be bold to say, that this is far beyond every Thing else that can be done, at School however, for the easy and ready Attainment of a good Latin Stile. But upon this Point I have enlarged sufficiently above.

III. ANOTHER Use that may be made of Clasick Authors so published, is for the easy quick Attainment of a good English Stile. And the Way thereto is here again for a Person to compare the Original and Translation together, 'till he is able to render the Latin Text very readily into the precise Words of the Translation. What woful Stuff do Boys at School, for want of this Help, usually render the Clasick Authors into, in the construing of their Lessons? By which we may easily account for what some have observed (Mr. *Locke* and the *Spectator*, if my Memory fails me not) that Men educated to Letters, who have threshed hard at Latin for nine or ten Years together, are oftentimes very deficient in their own Language: And no wonder. For how should those who have, for so many Years together at School, been so much inured to vile barbarous Language, be able to deliver themselves in much better, with any great Ease or Readiness?

diness. It is Use makes Perfection in every Thing Mankind have Occasion to learn in order to practice. And therefore it is not to be expected, that our Youth, after they have run through the Course of a Grammar-School, should have any Talent at the writing or speaking handsome English, with any Ease or Fluency, if they have never been used to any thing of that Kind there, but instead thereof, have had the Relish of their Minds vitiated, by a perpetual run of improper barbarous Language, or meer Gibberish. But in the Way of Proceeding here advised to, the Case is the reverse. The Invention's being so constantly exercised in Search of proper handsome Language, and withal as constantly assisted in the most substantial Manner, and presently set a going again, in case of any Stop or Difficulty, must needs render such Language very familiar to the Mind, and make it occur upon all Occasions of Writing or Speaking, with great Ease and Readiness. In short, I say, this way of using free and proper Translations of Classick Authors, is so apparently of the greatest and most excellent Use, for the Purpose of writing and speaking good English, with Ease and Fluency, that, in my Opinion, the Matter can admit of no Dispute amongst Persons of any Sense or Consideration at all.

THE several Uses above-mentioned to be made of Clas-
fick Authors, published together with handsome elegant
Translations, shew of what prodigious Advantage it would
be to our Grammar-Schools, to have some of the choicest
among them so published. Half a Dozen such thrown into
our Schools, and used there as they should be, would cer-
tainly work a wonderful Effect, such as would soon be very
visible all the Nation over, by a much greater and quicker Im-
provement of Youth in both the Languages of Latin and
English together. Now the Way of exercising Boys in
Classicks so published, would be, to make them get three or
four Lessons in the Original to read exactly into the Tran-
slation; and when that is done, to make them go the same
Lessons over again, and get the Translation to read as exact-
ly back again, into the Original Latin. This (I say it again,
and desire the Reader would take Notice of it) will, in my
Opinion, be the most effectual expeditious Method to bring
Youth to an easy elegant Use of both Languages, that can
possibly be taken with them.

FROM the whole of what has been said upon this Subject
of Translations, I shall venture to draw this Conclusion,
that a Man of but a very moderate Skill in the Latin Tongue,

may acquit himself in the teaching of it, by the Help of Translations, with much greater Success, than the most able Critick in the Language can do without. I have had as much Experience in the Business of Education, as most Men that have engaged in it. I have taught in the common Method, and in my own, so far as it was practicable (for we are yet far from having all the Classicks published with Translations, that are necessary for the Assistance of our Youth at School, to say nothing of other Helps that are wanting) I add too, that I have thought as much upon the Subject of Education, as perhaps any Man whatever; and I do pretend to say, that in the common Method of Education, where the Use of Literal Translations is disallowed, Youth must thereby alone suffer a Loss of at least two Years Time, upon a moderate Computation. So that take two Boys of equal Age and Capacity, and let one start two Years before the other, in the reading of Authors, according to the vulgar Way of Proceeding, and I will be answerable for it, that the latter shall, by the help of Translations, in a Year, or two at most, clearly out-do the former, that had so much the Start of him. Now if this be so, as I am pretty sure of it, here is two Years Time quite lost; to which if we add two Years more, Boys lose by trifling in Lily's Grammar, which I am sure is but a reasonable Supposition, here is a Loss of no less than four Years of the properest Time in human Life for the learning of Languages, to be charged to the Account of the usual Management of Youth in Grammar-Schools, with Respect to those two Articles alone, the rejecting of proper Helps for reading the easier Authors, and the use of an ill-contrived Grammar in Latin.

Now if this Time was to be saved, by receiving into our Schools a competent Number of the Classicks with Literal Translations, and the Use of a compendious Methodical Grammar in English; and the other Faults in the vulgar Way of teaching, which I have taken Notice of in my *Essay upon Education*, were reformed, and other Helps provided for Schools, which I have there directed to, what a prodigious Advantage would it be to the Youth of the Nation? How finely might such as are naturally qualified to make Scholars (for all are not so) go furnished to an University, by the Age of eighteen or nineteen Years? which is as soon, I think, as Youth ought to be sent thither, let their Parts be what they will. They would not only acquire a much greater Acquaintance with the Languages and Antiquities of anci-

ancient Greece and Rome, than they now usually do in the best Schools, but go off prettily accomplished in their own Language, with a competent Skill in History and Geography, both Ancient and Modern, the Use of the Globes, Chronology, &c. What a Noble Foundation would thus be laid for Academical Studies? And if this be so, the Matter may well deserve the most serious Consideration of all sober worthy Gentlemen, concerned for the Good of their own Children, and that of their native Country together.

I HAVE now done with this important Article of Education, and I hope, done enough to satisfy any reasonable unprejudiced Reader, of the Necessity for a further Reformation of the vulgar Method of Proceeding in our Schools, as to this Particular. I flatter myself, that what has been said, carries so much Light and Evidence along with it, that very little, if any thing at all, can be said against it, with any Appearance of Reason. And if so, it were much to be wished, our School-Masters, who still stand out against a Thing so plainly for their own Ease and Interest, as well as the Good of the Publick, would take the Matter under their most serious Consideration. But whilst Prejudice, or a supine Neglect of Information in some, and a haughty Disdain in others to receive any Instructions, or accept of any Helps, from one they conceive perhaps to be much below them, keep so many of our Masters up to old Forms, the Youth of the Kingdom suffer miserably by it in their Education. And therefore it were further to be wished, that Gentlemen who are convinced of the reasonableness of what I have been pleading for, would be pleased to add the Weight of their Authority to my poor Endeavours, and discountenance by their Resentment, the Practice of such Absurdity upon their Sons, as still generally prevails in the Education of Youth in Grammar-Schools. But after all, if any School-Masters or others, upon the Perusal of what has been said above, remain dissatisfied, and still think the old Way of going to work preferable to what I here advise, I wish they would be so kind as communicate to the Publick their Sentiments upon the Matter, by a full and particular Answer to this *Dissertation*. If they write in any thing of a plausible and civil Manner, they shall receive as civil an Answer. But if after so fair an Invitation, nothing shall appear in Vindication of the common Method, the World, I suppose, will easily guess the Reason of it; and those who follow that Method, may do well to take Notice thereof, and reflect well upon it. All I shall add is,

that such Gentlemen as like the Sentiments delivered in this Dissertation, may, I humbly presume to hope, find many more equally agreeable to them, upon all the Branches of Education, in my *Essay upon the Subject*, as likewise upon all the Branches of Literature, in a Book I published some Time ago, under the Title of, *An Essay upon Study, wherein Directions are given for the due Conduct thereof, and the Collection of a Library proper for the Purpose, consisting of the choicest Books in all the several Parts of Learning.*

Gloucester,
Jan. 16, 1733-4.

JOHN CLARKE.



C. CRIS-



E.

C. CRISPI SALLUSTII

V I T A.

BONORUM Virorum timiditati, inconstantiae, aut imprudentiae vix ignoscere possumus, si quid aliquando moribus suis indignum, & ante actae Vitae minus consentaneum protulerint. Sed multo magis iram nostram movent improborum honesti sermones ; quibus, ut nequitiam suam occultent, certiusque noceant, uti solent ; nihil enim sceleratius, quam armis Virtutis uti, ut Vitudum tuearis. Non puto autem quemquam pravae hujus simulationis labe magis infectum vixisse, quam celeberrimum Historicum C. CRISPUM SALLUSTIUM, ut liquebit ex ejus vita ; quam ex Veteribus colligere statui, ut quicumque eam legent, hoc exemplo intelligent, non esse propterea existimandum bonum quemquam fuisse, quod Virtutem calamo defenderit, nisi constet mores cum sermonibus consensisse. Nemo certe elegantius & acrius in suaे aetatis vitia, quam SALLUSTIUS, invectus est ; nec quisquam vitae minus severae fuit.

Natus

Natus erat (*a*) Amiterni, in Sabinis, apud quos extant etiamnum antiquae severitatis reliquiae, anno ab Urbe condita (*b*) DCLXIX. *L. Cornelio Cinna* III. & *Cn. Papirio Carbone Coss.* Hi Sullae infensi bellum civile concitarunt, quod non desuit, nisi postquam Sulla, triennio post, rerum potitus est. His annis, omnis generis flagitia in Italia commissa, plebeiaeque & nobiles familiae gravissimas calamitates passae sunt ; unde intelligere licet miserrimo ac flagitosissimo aevo natum esse *Sallustium*, & quo multo plura, quae vitaret, quam quae sequeretur, videbat. Parentes tamen ejus inculpatae vitae fuisse credibile fit, quod priscus Declamator, qui nomine *Ciceronis* in *Sallustium* ineuctus est, omniaque conquisivit, quae in eum dici possent, nihil in fama, rumoribusque subsequentis aetatis invenerit, quod iis exprobraret. Patrem certe *Sallustii* se praeterire ait ; *qui si*, inquit, *numquam in vita sua peccasset*, *tamen majorem injuriam Reipublicae facere non potuisset*, *quam quod eum talem filium genuerat*. Subjicit, *se non exsequi si qua in pueritia peccasset Sallustius*, *ne parentem ejus accusare videretur*, *qui eo tempore summam ejus potestatem habuit*. Quae verba satis ostendunt, probra nulla in Historici nostri parentes tunc temporis jacta ; neque enim iis vehemens Declamator pepercisset, ut *Sallustii* nequitiam credibiliorem redderet.

Plebeiam ejus familiam, non patriciam, ut non nulli volunt, fuisse liquet, ex eo quod Tribunus Plebis fuerit ; ac fane ubique in nobiles invehitur, ac praesertim in Historia Belli Jugurthini, & posteriore Epistola ad C. Caesarem de *Republica Ordinanda*.

(*a*) *Vide Eusebium in Chron, ad An. MDCCCCXXXI.* (*b*)
A. C. LXXXV.

A te-

A teneris annis excultam eloquentiam, & operam diligentem litteris a *Sallustio* datam, satis ostendunt ejus scripta ; neque enim ita scribunt, qui serius se se ad litterarum studia contulerunt. Ideo fidem ei minime detraxerim dicenti Epist. 11. ad Caesarem postquam sibi aetas, ingeniumque adolevisset, se haud ferme armis atque equis corpus exercuisse, sed animum in litteris agitasse ; &, quod natura firmius erat, ingenium in laboribus babuisse. Sed & hoc diserte testatur (a) *Suetonius* ; Praeceptorum enim ejus fuisse docet Atticum Praetextatum, nobilem Grammaticum Latinum, qui se *Philologum* vocavit, & qui *Sallustium* familiarissime coluit. Vix tamen videtur, more aliorum, causas actitasse, ut gratiam ac famam sibi actionibus forensibus compararet. Nulla certe memoria ejus rei, apud veteres ; nec *Cicero*, qui tot aequalium suorum, qui operam suam venditarunt in foro, meminit, *C. Crispi Sallustii* mentionem ullam usquam fecit. Si quis silentii causam fuisse inimicitiam, quae inter eos fuit, suspicetur ; doceat cur *Cicero* ejus saltum obiter non meminerit, ut vituperaret. Ac sane genus eloquentiae *Sallustianae* minus aptum foro fuit ; aptissimum *Historiae*, quae ab otiosis legitur. Quare (b) *Quintilianus*, vitari oportere judicat in causis agendis illam *Sallustianam* (quamquam in ipso virtutis locum obtinet) brevitateim, & abruptum sermonis genus, quod otiosum fortasse lectorem minus fallit, audientem transvolat.

Declamator, (c) quem dixi, turpissimam adolescentiam *Sallustio* exprobrat, nefandarumque voluptatum amorem objicit ; quae criminaciones, ut falsae esse possunt, non omnino incredibiles ob sequuta flagitia videntur. *Domum paternam*, si accusatori credi-

(a) In Lib. de Illustribus Grammatiis c. 10. (b) Lit. iv.
Cap. 2. (c) Cap. 5.

mus, vivo patre, turpissime venalem habuit, ac vendidit; morique coegit ex moerore patrem, quo nondum mortuo, jam pro herede omnia gerebat. Nec aetatis tirocinio lapsus, postea se correxit, sed abiit in sodalitium Sacrilegi nescio cuius Nigidiani; bis accusatus est apud Judices, bis absolutus; verum ita ut non innocens esse, sed Judices pejerasse videarentur.

Cum ad capessendos Reipublicae honores contenderet, (a) Quaesturam est consequutus, quam si pettiit legitimo anno, hoc est, vigesimo quinto, Quaestor fuit A. U. C. (b) DCXCIV. Quinto Caecilio Metello Celere & L. Afranio Coss. Aliosne honores ambiverit, an difficultatibus deterritus ad privatam vitam, iis missis, concesserit, non satis liquet. Ab hoc certe tempore nullos honores, ad Tribunatum usque Plebis, gessit. In ipso adolescentiae ardore, videtur ea admisisse, quae aeternam nomini ejus infamam inusserunt. (c) *M. Varro* Scriptor gravissimus, in libro quem inscripserat *Pius*, aut *de Pace*, *C. Sallustium* in adulterio deprehensum cum Fausta, Sulla filia, a Milone ejus viro loris bene caesum, &c., cum pecuniam dedisset, dimissum fuisse prodidit.

Attamen A. U. C. DCCII. (d) Tribunatum Plebis adeptus est, tempore quo usque adeo turbata erat Respublica, ut eo deventum sit, ut Cn. Pompejus Magnus Consul, sine collega, crearetur. Cum autem paullo ante T. Annus Milo P. Clodium occidisset, Pompejusque legem de vi tulisset, qua instiebatur quaestio de ea caede; ulciscendi occasionem naectus *Sallustius*, sibi non defuit. Cum duobus aliis Tribunis Plebis inimicissimas conciones, ut scribit *Aconius Pedianus* in *Ciceronis Milonianam*, de Milo-

(a) *Ibidem.* (b) A. C. LX. (c) *Apud Aul. Gellium Lib. xvii. c. 18. Vide & veterem Scholia festi Horatii ad Sat. II. Lib. I.* (d) A. C. N. LII.

ne habuit, invidiosas etiam de Cicerone, quod Milonem summo studio defenderet; eratque maxima pars multitudinis infensa non solum Miloni, sed ipsi etiam, propter invisum patrocinium, Ciceroni. Postea tamen cum de accusandi studio multum remisisset *Sallustius*, in suspicione fuit in gratiam rediisse cum Milone & Cicerone.

Crediderim, hisce temporibus, scriptam fuisse historiam Catilinariae Conjunctionis; cum *Sallustius*, exacto Tribunatus tempore, privatus ageret, nec Ciceroni esset infensus; rem enim ita narrat, ut ea lecta historia, nemo non acta Ciceronis sit probaturus. Forte & bellum Jugurthinum, & Civilia, quae id insequuta sunt, aliaque cum iis connexa, eodem illo tempore conscripsit, aut aliquanto posterius. Certe non sunt ea scripta hominis adolescentis, testaturque ipse, initio conjunctionis Catilinariae, secum demum Historiam aggressum scribere, (a) ubi animus ex multis miseriis atque periculis requievit, & sibi reliquam aetatem a Republica procul habendam decrevit; quod vix ante Tribunatum, quem anno aetatis xli. gessit, fieri potuit. Tum vero statuit res gestas Populi Romani carptim (sic ipse loquitur) ut quaeque memoria digna viderentur perscribere; eo magis, quod ei a spe, metu, partibus Reipublicae animus liber erat. Haec sunt verba hominis honores nullos amplius sperantis, aut certe ambitionem egregie dissimulantis. At nec ante dissimularat honorum cupiditatem; nec postea, rerum potiente Caesare, eorum contemptum prae se tulit.

Itaque ante omnia Catilinariam conjunctionem, quae contigerat anno ejus vitae xxx, ac proinde cuius testis fuerat, scribere undecim circiter post annis aggressus est, si calculos recte ponimus. Tum Ju-

(a) Cap. 3.

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gurthinum

gurthinum bellum, quod diu antequam nasceretur, & Civile, quod eo puero gestum est, conscripsit. Periit postremum Opus, si fragmenta quaedam excipias, quae tamen sat ampla ad nos pervenerunt, ut ex iis intelligere possimus, non minus accurate ac cetera perscriptum fuisse. (a) Sed mihi videor ex loco Ausonii posse colligere tempora, quorum Historiam scripserat Sallustius, in iis libris qui perierunt. Ausonius in Idyllo xxxii, ad Nepotem, docet puerum, quos libros legere eum oporteat, & quos ipse, in gratiam ejus in manum iterum sumere fit paratus, Itaque memorato Terentio, sic loquitur de Sallustii libris:

Jam facinus, Catilina, tuum ; Lepidique tumultum, Ab Lepido, & Catulo ; jam res & tempora Romae Orsus, bis senos seriem connecto per annos. Jam lego civili missum Mavorte duellum, Movit quod socio Sertorius exsul Ibero. Haec sunt omnia opera Sallustii, excepto bello Jugurthino, quod cur omiserit Ausonius, non intelligo. Forte aliquot versus vetustate interciderunt. i. Occurrit bellum Catilinarium, de quo nihil necesse est dicere. ii. Historia tumultus excitati a Marco Aemilio Lepido, anno Urbis Conditae DCLXXXVII postquam anno superiori Consul fuisset: Is tumultus a Pompejo & Catulo oppressus est, eodem anno. iii. Inde Sallustius scripserat historiam rerum in Republica Romana per duodecim annos gestarum, ante Lepidi tumultum; quorum duodecim annorum initium fecerim circiter ab anno U. C. DCLXIII, quo bellum Marsicum inchoatum, ab eo enim tempore, usque ad extremam Dictaturam Sullae, duodecim circiter anni fluxerunt. Multa autem inveniuntur fragmenta Sallustii, ex quibus liquet eum res a Sulla gestas scripsisse; quae ea

(a) Suetonius de Ill. Gramm. cap. x.

temporis intercapidine continentur. iv. Bellum scripsérat Sertorianum, quod cooperat sub finem vi-
tae Sullae, proximeque duodecim annos memoratos conseqüebatur; Metellus enim in Hispaniam contra Sertorium missus est anno U. C. DCLXXIV. qui duo-
decim illorum annorum ultimus fuit. Si ea Historia ad receptas usque Hispanias pertexta est, quod credibile videtur, pertinuit ad annum DCLXXXI.
nam eo demum anno, occisis Sertorio & Perperna, pacatae sunt Hispaniae.

Hinc videmus quamvis *Sallustius* carptim scripsis-
set Historiam Romanam, nec continua temporum serie lucubrationes suas edidisset, ex tribus postremo memoratis operibus potuisse contexi circiter octo-
decim annorum Historiam; quae utinam sane exsta-
ret! Fragmenta enim ejus sitim nostram excitant,
non restinguunt. Hi autem libri, quamvis ab auc-
tore eo ordine, quem memorat *Ausonius*, editi, viden-
tur postea a Grammaticis in ordinem quemdam re-
dacti, ut ex tribus operibus una conflaretur Historia,
Librique ejus perpetuo ordine a primo ad ulti-
mum decurrerent, commodiusque ad testimonium citarentur. *Afinius Pollio*, in libro quo *Sallustii*
scripta reprehenderat, ut nimia priscorum verborum adfectatione oblita, tradebat, *In eam rem adjutorium ei fecisse maxime quemdam Atteium Praetextatum, nobilem Grammaticum Latinum, declamantium deinde adjutorem atque praceptorum.* Ab hoc aiebat *Sallustium*, *Historiam scribere aggressum, breviario rerum omnium Romanarum, ex quibus quas vellet eligeret, instruetum fuisse, antiquaque ei verba & figuræ solitum eum esse colligere.* Videtur Grammaticus non igno-
bilis ea in re ingenio ac voluntati *Sallustii* gratifica-
tus esse, potius quam suum ipsius judicium sequutus;
nam in praceptis Rheticis ad *Afinium Pollionem*,
ei nihil aliud suadebat, ut prodidit Suetonius, quam

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ut noto, civilique & proprio Sermone uteretur, vita-retque maxime obscuritatem & audaciam in translatio-nibus. Credibile est *Sallustium* ea re gravitatem styli captasse, & priscorum illorum Romanorum sermo-nem imitatum, quorum moribus erat dissimillimus, ut flagitiosae vitae maculas elueret, persuaderetque iis, quibus satis notus non erat, falsa esse omnia, quae de illo minus honesta jactabantur.

Verum hae artes bellè homini non cesserunt, nam anno (a) U. C. DCCIV. Coss. L. Aemilio Paulo & C. Claudio Marcello, Appius Claudius Pulcher Censor, non repugnante Collega L. Calpurnio Pisone, omnes libertinos, ut docet *Dio Lib. XL.* mul-tos etiam nobilium, atque inter eos *Crispum Sallu-stium*, qui historiam conscripsit, Senatu ejecit. Quod factum, si veteribus (b) Grammaticis credimus, propter adulteria; dicitur enim ab iis *Sallustius tan-to ardore insanivisse in libertinas, quanto moechus in matronas, quod cum illi in Senatu a Censoribus objec-tum esset, respondit se non matronarum, sed libertina-rum iectatorem esse.* Quare ex Senatu, inquiunt, ejec-tus est. Hoc quoque ei exprobrat personatus ille (c) Cicero, qui Declamatione in ejus mores invectus est. Idem nos docet, postquam Censores Senatum, more majorum legissent, nusquam conspectum esse *Sallu-stium* Romae, suspicaturque tum se *conjecisse in ea castra, quo omnis sentina Reipublicae confluxerat;* hoc est, in Galliam ad Caesarem se contulisse. Non minoribus (d) conviciis eum exagitavit *Lenaeus*, Pompeji Magni libertus, ex amore erga patroni memo-riam, quem *Sallustius* scripserat *oris probi, animo inverecundo fuisse.* Ideo *Lenaeus* postea *Historicum nostrum acerbissima Satyra,* ut docet Suetonius, *lace-ravit, lastaurum & lurconeum & nebulonem popi-*

(a) *A. Chr. N. L.* (b) *Schol. in Sat. II. Lib. I. Horatii. (c) Cap. 5. & 6. (d) *Suetonius de illustr. Gramm. cap. 15.**

nonemque *appellans*, & vita scriptisque monstrorum, *praeterea* priscorum, Catonisque verborum ineruditissimum furem. Qua ex occasione, sic de Pompejo scripsisset *Sallustius*, post interitum ejus *Historiae*, conjicere non possumus; at constat Caesarianis partibus e Senatu expulsum favisse.

Certe posteaquam Respublica armis oppressa est, anno sequente, (a) U. C. DCCV. C. Claudio Marcello & L. Cornelio Lentulo Coss. a Caesare (b) est in Senatum reductus; Quaestura iterum accepta, ut honestius in amplissimum ordinem reciperetur. Eum autem *bonorem*, si adversae famae credimus, ita gessit, ut nihil in eo non venale habuerit, cuius aliquis emtor fuit. Nihil non aequum ac verum duxit, quod ipsi facere collibuisse. Propter iteratam Quaesturam, priscus Declamator, cuius verba protulimus, bis *Senatorem*, bis *Quaestorem factum* ait. At Dio Lib XLII. vult, ut recuperaret dignitatem Senatoriam, Praetorem creatum. Malim, Quaestura in eum collata, factum hoc esse; eo enim Magistratu capto, Roma-
na Juventus ingrediebatur Senatum.

Hoc tempore, viris doctis videtur scripsisse ad Caesarem duas illas Literas, quae perperam Orationes inscribuntur, *de Republica ordinanda*. Sed posteriores quidem, hoc tempore, scripsisse potuit; at priores non nisi propemodum confecto bello scripsit. Malim ergo hasce differre in annum DCCVII. aut certe ad finem anni antecedentis, cum victus esset Cn. Pompejus.

Igitur sub finem (c) anni DCCVI. cum in Asia esset Caesar, ab iis (d) qui Roma ad eum venerant cognovit, literisque urbanis animadvertisit multa Romae male & inutiliter administrari, neque ullam

(a) Cicer. in *Sallust.* cap. 6. (b) A. C. N. XLIX. Id. c, vii.
(c) A. C. N. XLVII. (d) Hirtius de Bel. *Alexand.* cap. LXV.

Ea praeda, (a) qui modo ne paternam quidem domum redimere poterat, repente tamquam somnio beatus, hortos pretiosissimos, qui (b) *Sallustiani*, ab ejus nomine, dicti sunt, villam Tiburtinam, & alias possessiones sibi comparavit.

Qua ratione, vitam postea traduxerit *Sallustius*, Veteribus tacentibus, nobis non liquet. Credibile est ornanda domui, exstruendis villis, deliciisque undiquaque sibi parandis occupatum fuisse ; ita ut saluberrimis praeceptis, quae in Historiis tradiderat, exemplo suo, vim pondusque detrahere pergeret. De ejus oratione in *Ciceronem*, & *Ciceronis* in *Sallustium*, nihil addam ; quia, licet antiquae sint, nec infra aevum Tiberianum, animi causa, a Rhetore quopiam confictas nemo amplius dubitat.

Septuagesimo aetatis anno, fato functus est, quadriennio (c) ante bellum Actiacum, hoc est, anno (d) U. C. DCCXIX. S. Pompejo & S. Carnificio Coff. Vir sane fuit memorabilis, si Historias ejus spectes ; quae, si nimium antiquioris styli studium excipias, nullis aliis postponenda sunt, principemque locum, inter Romanos Historicos, etiam judicio Veterum, ei pepererunt. Nec brevitatem ac efficaciam singularem dictionis dumtaxat laudant, sed etiam veritatis studium ; quod ita intelligendum, ut de aliis loquenti fides habeatur, de se ipsi nihil credatur nisi quod re ipsa comprobatum est. Facile credo, cum se Reipublicae longum valedixisse putaret, (e) *Consilium ei non fuisse*, ut ipse dicit, *socordia atque desidia bonum otium conterere, neque vero, agrum colendo ac venando, servilibus officiis intentum, aetatem egisse*, sed honestiorbus studiis & scriptiōibus

(a) Cicer. in *Sallust.* cap. 8. (b) *De iis* vide Fam. Nardinum *Vet. Romae* lib. iv. cap. 7. (c) Vide Euseb. in *Chron.* (d) A. C. N. xxxv. (e) *Conjur. Catil.* cap. iv.

ram dedisse. At nec oblitum deliciarum ac voluptatum opinor; quibus & puer & adolescens & senex, quasi Sirenibus quibusdam adhaesit; nec, ut puto, dum Historias, florente aetate scriptitaret, nuncium remisit.

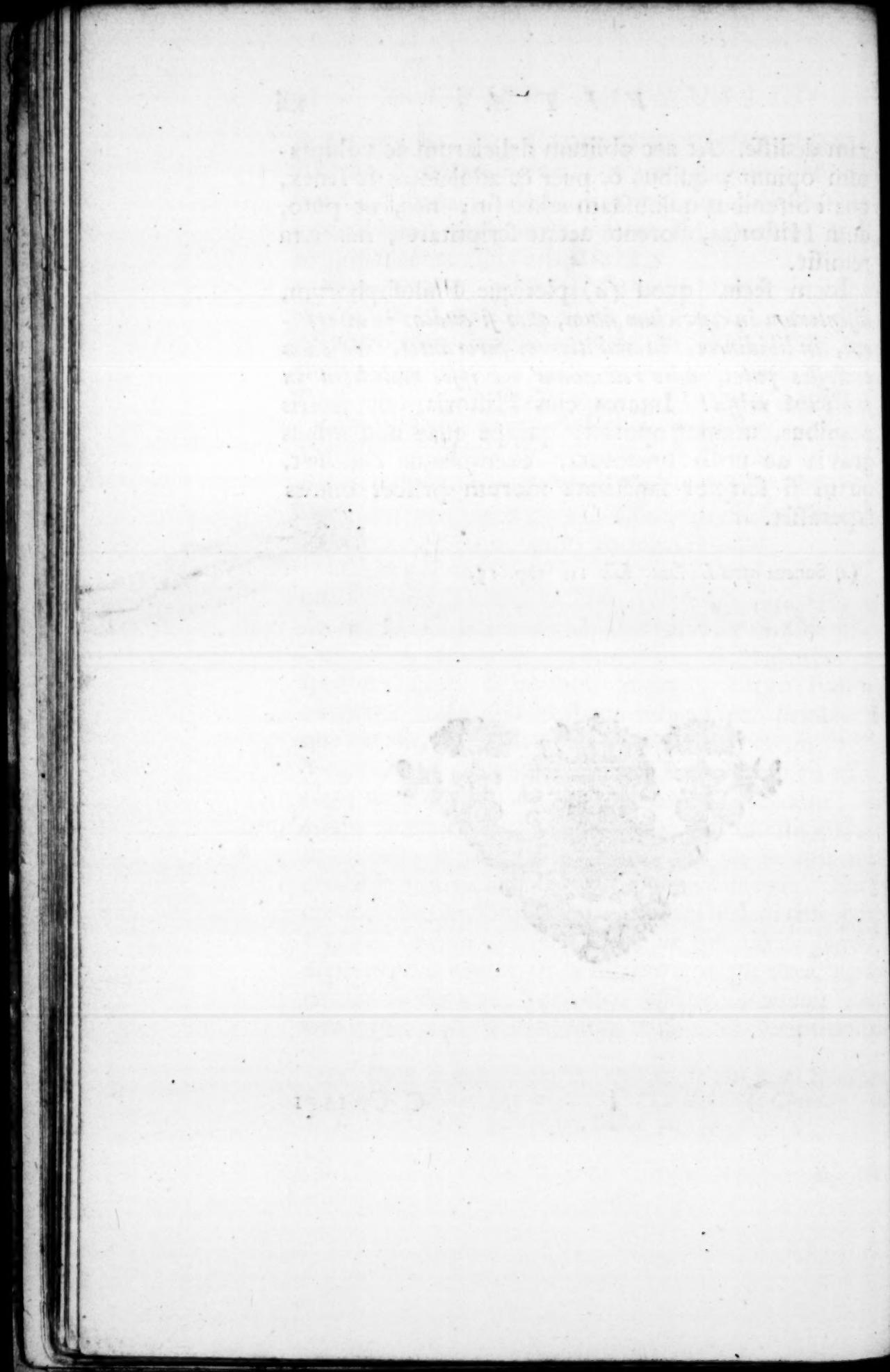
Idem fecit, quod (a) plerique Philosophorum, *disertorum in convicium suum, quos si audias in avaritiam, in libidinem, in ambitionem perorantes, indicium professos putes, adeo redundant ad ipsos maledicta in publicum missa!* Interea ejus Historia, ut ceteris omnibus, utamur oportet, quippe quae non minus gravia ac utilia praecepta, exemplaque continet, quam si scriptor sanctitate morum priscos omnes superasset.

(a) Seneca apud Lactant. Lib. III. cap. 15.



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C. CRISPI





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Bellum Catilinarium :
SIVE DE
Conjuratione Catilinæ.

OMNIS homines qui sese student præstare cæteris animalibus, summa ope niti decet, ne vitam filentio transeant, veluti pecocora, quae natura prona atque ventri obedientia finxit. Sed nostra omnis vis in animo & corpore fita est. Animi imperio, corporis servitio magis utimur. Alterum nobis cum dis, alterum cum belluis commune est. Quo mihi rectius videtur, ingenii, quam virium opibus gloriam quære; &, quoniam vita ipsa, qua fruimur, brevis est, memoriam nostri

ALL men, who are desirous to excell other animals, should endeavour by all means not to pass their days in silence, like cattle, which nature has formed in an inclining posture, and a state of subjection to their bellies. But our faculties are of two different kinds, of the body and the soul. 'Tis the busyness of the soul to command, and that of the body to obey. The one we have in common with the Gods, and the other with Brutes. And therefore to me it appears more adviseable to pursue glory by the abilities of the mind, than those of the body; and since the life we enjoy, is but short, to make our memories as lasting as possible in the world. The splendour riches
A 2 quam

quam maxime longam efficere. Nam divitiarum et formæ gloria fluxa atque fragilis est; virtus clara aeternaque habetur. Sed diu magnum inter mortales certamen fuit; vine corporis, an virtue animi, res militaris magis procederet. Nam et prius quam incipias, consulto; &, ubi consulueris, mature facto opus est: Ita utrumque per se indigens, alterum alterius auxilio veget.

II. Igitur initio reges (nam in terris nomen imperii id primum fuit) diversi, pars ingenium, alii corpus exercebant. Etiam tum vita hominum sine cupiditate agitabatur: sua cuique satiis placebant. Postea vero quam in Afia Cyrus, in Græcia Lacedæmonii & Athenienses cœpere urbes atque nationes subigere; lubidinem dominandi causam belli habere; maxumam gloriam in maximo imperio putare: tum deum periculo atque negotiis compertum est, in bello plurimum ingenium posse. Quod si regum atque imperatorum animi virtus in pace ita, ut in bello, valeret; æquabilius atque constantius sese res humanæ haberent: neque

and beauty yield, is fading and frail; but virtue is thought to give an everlasting lustre. Yet it has been a long time a matter of no small debate amongst men, whether success in war has more depended upon strength of body, or the abilities of the mind. For enterprizes of that kind ought not to be undertaken but upon previous deliberation, and when resolved upon, ought vigorously to be put in execution. Thus whilst neither of these things is of itself sufficient, they succeed by the mutual aid of each other.

II. Wherefore in the early ages of the world, Kings (for monarchy seems to have been the first kind of government amongst men) some of them laboured the improvement of their minds, and others of their bodies. At that time indeed mankind were strangers to covetousness, every one being content with his own. But after Cyrus in Afia, and in Greece the Athenians and Lacedemonians, begun to conquer cities and whole nations, and to look upon the lust of dominion as a sufficient ground of war, and to reckon the greatest glory to consist in the large extent of their conquests; then it was found by experience, that an able head was the most serviceable in war. And if the great abilities of Kings and Commanders produced but as good effects in peace as in war, the affairs of mankind would be in a much more calm and settled state. Nor should we see such hurly-burly, such distraction and confusion spread over the face of the earth.

aliud

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aliud alio ferri, neque mutari ac misceri omnia certneres. Nam imperium facile iis artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est. Verum, ubi pro labore desidia, pro continentia & æquitate lubido atque superbia invadere, fortuna simul cum moribus immutatur. Ita imperium semper ad optimum quemque ab minus bono transfertur. Quæ homines arant, navigant, aedificant, virtuti omnia parent. Sed multi mortales, dediti ventri atque somno, indocti, incultique, vitam sicuti peregrinantes transiere: quibus profecto, contra naturam, corpus voluptati, anima oneri fuit. Eorum ego vitam mortemque juxta æstumo; quoniam de utraque filetur. Verum enimvero is demum mihi vivere, & frui anima videtur; qui, aliquo negotio intentus, præclarificinoris, aut artis bonæ famam quærerit. Sed in magna copia rerum, aliud alii natura iter ostendit.

III. Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ: etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est. Vel pace vel bello clarum fieri licet. Et qui fecere, & qui facta aliorum scripsere, multi laudantur. Ac mihi quidem, tametsi haudqua-

For dominion is easily secured by the same arts by which it was first acquired. But when idleness has succeeded in the place of industry, and instead of moderation and equity lust and pride prevail, then the fortune of a people changes with their manners. And thus power is ever shifting about from the worse to the better part of men; and the advantages of plowing, sailing, and building, become the perquisites of virtue. But a great many men who minded nothing but eating and sleeping, illiterate and unpolished, have spent their days like strangers in the world, whose happiness, contrary to nature, laid in pampering their bodies, whilst their souls were a burden to them. The life and death of such as these I reckon much the same, since no notice is taken of either. But he indeed appears to me to be truly alive, and to enjoy life, who is engaged in some useful employment, and endeavours to acquire fame by noble actions, or the practice of some commendable art. But in the midst of plenty for that purpose, nature has pointed out to different men different ways.

III. It is a glorious thing to be serviceable to the state, and eloquence is no despiseable talent. A man may make himself famous in peace or in war. Many, as well those that have performed great actions, as those that have given us the history thereof, are highly applauded. And tho' I cannot quam

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quam par gloria sequatur scriptorem & auctorem rerum, tamen in primis arduum videtur res gestas scribere: primum, quod facta dictis exæquanda sunt: dein, quia plerique, quæ delicta reprehendunt, malevolentia & invidia dicta putant. Ubi de magna virtute atque gloria bonorum memores, quæ sibi quisque facilia factu putat, æquo animo accipit: supra, veluti facta pro falsis dicit. Sed ego adolescentulus initio, sicuti plerique, studio ad rempublicam latus sum: ibique mihi multa advorsa fuere. Nam pro pudore, pro abstinentia, pro virtute, audacia, largitio, avaritia vigebant. Quæ tametsi animus aspernabatur, insolens malarum artium; tamen inter tantæ vitia imbecilla ætas ambitione corrupta tenebatur. Ac me, cum ab reliquis malis moribus dissentirem, nihilo minus honoris cupido eadem, quæ cæteros, fama atque invidia vexabat.

IV. Igitur, ubi animus ex multis miseriis atque periculis requievit, & mihi reliquam ætatem a republica procul habendam decrevi; non fuit consilium

indeed say, that the Historian and the Hero are entitled to the same share of glory; yet it appears to me a matter of no small difficulty to write history well. First, because in the relation of noble actions, the style must be suited to the grandeur of the subject; and in the next place, because most readers are apt to look upon the censure of any miscarriages, as proceeding from ill-nature and envy. And in accounts of the gallant behaviour, and glorious achievements of worthy men, such things as any one looks upon to have no great difficulty in them, he can read with patience, as credible, but all beyond he treats as meer fiction, and utterly false. When I was a young man, I was, like most other Gentlemen, very inclinable to engage in the service of the state, but every where found great difficulties in the way of such my design, for instead of modesty, justice, and virtue, impudence, bribery and avarice carried all before them. Which tho' I had an abhorrence of, as having never been accustomed to such vile practices, yet those being now become the fashion of the times, my unexperienced youth exposed me to be caught by the baits of ambition. And tho' I did not fall entirely in with a vicious age in other respects, yet I had the same spirit of ambition and envy in me as others had.

IV. Being at last happily delivered from a world of vexation and danger, and resolved no more to meddle in State-Affairs, I was not, however, minded to spend my days in idleness and sloth, or to socor-

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socordia atque desidia bonum otium conterere: neque vero, agrum colendo, aut venando, serviliibus officiis intentum, ætatatem ægere: sed a quo incœpto studioque me ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus statui res gestas populi Romani strictim, uti quæque memoria digna videbantur, prescribere: eo magis, quod mihi a spe, metu, partibus reipublicæ animus liber erat. Igitur de Catilinæ conjuratio-ne, quam verissime potero, paucis absolvam. Nam id facinus in primis ego memorabile existumo, sceleris atque periculi novitate. De cuius hominis moribus pauca prius explananda sunt, quam initium narrandi faciam.

V. Lucius Catilina nobili genere natus, fuit magna vi & animi & corporis; sed ingenio malo pravoque. Huic ab adolescentia bella intestina, cædes, rapinæ, discordia civilis, grata fuere; ibique juventutem suam exercuit. Corpus patiens inediæ, algoris, vigiliæ, supra quam cuiquam credibile est. Animus audax, subdolus, varius, cuiuslibet rei simulator ac dissimulator, alieni appetens, sui profusus, ardens in cupiditatibus: satis loquentiæ,

employ my life in agriculture, hunting, or the like servile offices; but immediately resumed the pursuit of my former design, from which wicked ambition had diverted me, and determined to set about writing the History of the Roman People, such parts of it, I mean, as appeared to me most worthy of the notice of posterity; and the rather, because my mind was not at all influenced by hope, fear, or party-prejudice. Accordingly I shall in the first place give a brief account of Catiline's conspiracy, and that with all possible regard to truth. For I look upon that design to have been one of the most memorable that ever were, for the strange wickedness and danger of it. Which I shall begin with a short character of the man.

V. *Lucius Catilina was descended of a noble family, and endowed with an extraordinary vigour both of body and mind, but of a wicked perverse disposition. Who had from his youth nothing so much at heart, as civil war, rapine, and embroiling of the State; in which he spent the prime of his years. His body was incredibly qualified for the enduring of hunger, want of sleep, and cold. His mind was daring, crafty, fickle, capable of the most profound dissimulation, and of acting any part whatever, greedy of what was not his own, and lavish of what was, extremely eager*
sapi-

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sapientiae parum. Vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiebat. Hunc, post dominationem L. Sullae, Lubido maxuma invaserat reipublicae capiundae: neque id quibus modis adsequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet, quidquam pensi habebat. Agitabatur magis magisque indies animus ferox inopia rei familiaris, & conscientia scelerum: quae utraque his artibus auxerat, quas supra memoravi. Incitabant præterea corrupti civitatis mores: quos pesuma ac diversa inter se mala, luxuria atque avaritia, vexabant. Res ipsa hortari videtur, quoniam de moribus civitatis tempus admonuit, supra repetere, ac paucis instituta majorum domi militæque, quomodo rempublicam habuerint, quantumque reliquerint; &c, ut paulatim immutata, ex pulcherrima & optima pesuma ac flagitiosissima facta sit, differere.

VI. Urbem Romam, sicuti ego accepi, condidere atque habuere initio Trojani; qui, Ænea duce, profugi, sedibus incertis vagabantur; cumque his Aborigines, genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum atque solutum. Hi,

in the gratification of his desires; eloquence enough he had, but little wisdom. His wild soul was ever engaged in the most extravagant projects, things unattainable, and above his sphere. After the tyranny of Sylla, he became passionately fond of seizing the government; and provided he could but bring his purpose about, he cared not at all by what means he did it. His savage soul was more and more agitated with his poverty, and a sense of guilt, both which he had increased by the vile practices above-mentioned. He was moreover encouraged in his enterprize by the wickedness of the times, the City being sadly overrun with two of the worst, but very different sorts of vices, luxury and avarice. And since I am got upon this subject, it may not perhaps be an improper occasion of running back into the early ages of the Roman people, to give an account of the conduct of our ancestors, how they managed their affairs both in peace and war, and to what a height they brought the Roman State, how by degrees it has been changed, and of the most glorious and best, is become the worst and most flagitious.

VI. The City Rome, as far as I can find, was built and first inhabited by the Trojans, who being obliged to fly from their native country, strolled about from place to place, under the leading of Æneas. But with them were joined the Aborigines, a wild sort of people, under no restraint from law or government at all. How-

post-

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postquam in una moenia convenere, dispari genere, dissimili lingua, alias alio more viventes, incredibile memoratu est, quam facile coaluerint. Sed postquam res eorum civibus, moribus, agris aucta, satis prospera, satisque pollens videbatur; si cuti pleraque mortalium habentur, invidia ex opulentia orta est. Igitur reges populique finitimi bello tentare. Pauci ex amicis auxilio esse. Nam cæteri, metu perculsi, a periculis aberant. At Romani, domi militiæque intenti, festinare, parare, alias alium hortari, hostibus obviam ire, libertatem, patriam, parentesque armis tegere. Post, ubi pericula virtute propulerant, sociis atque amicis auxilia portabant; magisque dandis, quam accipiundis, beneficiis amicitias parabant. Imperium legitimum, nomen imperii regium habebant. Delecti, quibus corpus annis infirmum, ingenium sapientia validum erat, reipublicæ consultabant. Hi, vel ætate vel curæ similitudine, Patres appellabantur. Post, ubi regium imperium, quod initio conservandæ libertatis atque augendæ reipublicæ fuerat, in superbiā dominatione inque-

ever, upon their uniting and cohabiting in the same city, notwithstanding the wide difference betwixt them, with respect to their language, and manner of life, yet it is incredible to say, how easily they became one people. But after this new state received such an improvement in number of people, manners and territory, as to appear in a prosperous and vigorous condition, their happy circumstances, as is usual in such cases, drew down the envy of their neighbours upon them. Accordingly the neighbouring princes and states presently engaged in war against them; wherein some few of their friends stood by them, whilst the rest, for fear of the worst, kept themselves out of danger. The Romans, however, were not wanting in their endeavours, both at home and abroad, for a vigorous defence, but animated by mutual encouragements, boldly faced their enemy for the security of their liberty, country, and parents. And after they had by their bravery repelled the dangers that threatened them, gave in their turn assistance to their allies and friends; and added to the number of them, more by the conferring of favours, than the receiving of them. Their government was a legal one, under the name of a monarchy. Persons weak of body by reason of their age, but eminent for their wisdom and abilities of mind, were appointed as a council of state, to provide for the publick security; who from their age, on their obligation to a paternal concern for the good of the common-

convertit, immutato more, annua imperia, binos imperatores sibi fecere. Eo modo minime posse putabant per licentiam insolescere animum humanum.

two magistrates were yearly appointed to govern the state. For this they thought the most likely means to prevent a licentious insolence in their Governors.

VII. Sed ea tempestate cœpere se quisque magis magisque extollere, ingeniumque in promptu habere. Nam regibus boni, quam mali, suspectiores sunt; semperque his aliena virtus formidolosa est. Sed civitas, incredibile memoratu est, adepta libertate, quantum brevi creverit: Tanta cupido gloriae incesserat. Jam primum juventus, simul ac belli patiens erat, in castris per laborem usu militiā discebat; magisque in decoris armis & militaribus equis, quam in scortis atque conviviis, lubidinem habebat. Igitur talibus viris non labos insolitus, non locus ullus asper aut arduus erat, non armatus hostis formidolosus: Virtus omnia domuerat. Sed gloriae maximum certamen inter ipsos erat. Quisque hostem ferire, murum adscendere, conspicere, dum tale facinus faceret, properabat. Eas divitias, eam bonam fa-

wealth, were called Fathers. But when kingly government, which at first proved a means of preserving their liberty, and advancing the publick interest, degenerated into haughtiness and tyranny, it was laid aside, and in room thereof, two magistrates were yearly appointed to govern the state. For this they thought the most likely means to prevent a licentious insolence in their Governors.

VII. Now every one begun to exert himself, and employ all his faculties, for the publick service. For under Kings, persons of worth and merit are more apt to be looked upon with a jealous eye, than those of a contrary character. For Princes are ever apprehensive of great abilities in their subjects. But after the Roman state had thus recovered its liberty, it's incredible to say, what a mighty improvement it presently received; such an appetite for glory had now prevailed amongst that people. Now the youth, as soon as capable of bearing arms, were trained up in the fatigues of a camp, to the business of war. Handsome arms, and fine war-horses were much more their concern, than the practice of lewdness and luxury. To such men as these hardship was no novelty, no place too rugged or difficult, no enemy was terrible, their resolution bore down all before it. But at the same time there was the highest emulation amongst them in point of glory; every one being zealous to distinguish himself in fight, or the scaling of walls, in the view of his fellow-soldiers. This was their riches, their glory, and what mam,

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mam, magnamque nobilitatem putabant. Laudis avidi, pecuniae liberales erant. Gloriam ingentem, divitias honestas volebant. Memorare possem, quibus in locis maxumas hostium copias populus R. parva manu fuderit, quas urbes natura munitas pugnando ceperit; ni ea res longius nos ab incepto traheret.

VIII. Sed profecto fortuna in omni re dominatur. Ea res cunctas, ex lubidine magis, quam ex vero, celebrat obscurataque. Atheniensium res gestae, sicut ego existimo, satis amplæ magnificæque fuere: Verum aliquanto minores tamen, quam fama feruntur. Sed quia provenere ibi magna scriptorum ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maxumis celebrantur. Ita eorum, qui ea fecere, virtus tanta habetur, quantum verbis ea potuere extollere præclara ingenia. At populo Romano numquam ea copia fuit: Quia prudentissimus quisque negotiosus maxume erat. Ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat. Optimus quisque facere, quam dicere; sua ab aliis bene facta laudari, quam ipse aliorum narrare, malebat.

alone ennobled them, in their opinion. They were greedy of honour, but lavish of their money. Glory they could never have too much of, but for riches a handsome competency sufficed them. And here I could entertain the reader with numerous instances of mighty armies defeated by inconsiderable numbers, and cities wonderfully fortified by nature taken by them. But that would detain me too long from my purpose.

VIII. But fortune has indeed a mighty sway in all things; raises or depresses them at pleasure, rather than according to truth. The actions of the Athenians were, in my opinion, great and glorious enough, but not altogether so considerable as fame represents them. But because that city produced great plenty of fine authors, the exploits of that people are throughout the world celebrated for the greatest that ever were performed by men. Accordingly the courage and conduct of the actors, have been as much magnified, as it was in the power of the finest wits to do it. But this was an advantage the Roman people never had, because the wisest men were always the most engaged in the service of the state; for none pursued the improvement of the mind only, without regard to that of the body. The best men chose rather the part of acting than speaking; and to have their own achievements celebrated by others, rather than write those of others themselves.

IX. Igitur domi militiæque boni mores colebantur. Concordia maxima, minima avaritia erat. Jus bonumque apud eos non legibus magis, quam natura, valebat. Jurgia, discordias, similitates cum hostibus exercebant. Cives cum civibus de virtute certabant. In suppliciis deorum magnifici, domi parci, in amicos fideles erant. Duabus his artibus, audacia bello, ubi pax evenierat, æquitate, seque remque publicam curabant. Quarum rerum ego maxima documenta hæc habeo; quod in bello sœpius vindicatum est in eos, qui contra imperium in hostem pugnaverant, quique tardius revocati prælio excesserant, quam qui signa relinquere, aut pulsi, loco cedere auli erant. In pace vero, beneficiis magis, quam metu, imperium agitabant; et accepta injuria, ignoroscere, quam persequi, malebant.

X. Sed, ubi labore atque justitia respublica crevit; reges magni bello domiti; nationes feræ, & populi ingentes vi subacti; Carthago æmula imperii Romani, ab stirpe interiit; cuncta maria terraque patebant; fortuna favere ac miscere omnia cœpit. Qui labores,

IX. Good manners therefore were practised both at home and abroad, in the wars. Their unanimity was great, but desires very moderate. Justice and equity prevailed amongst them, not more by the force of laws, than natural inclination. All the differences and quarrels they had were with the enemies of the state. But one with another they had no other contest, than who should behave best. In the worship of the Gods they were magnificent, but thrifty at home, and faithful to their friends. And by the practice of bravery in war, and equity in peace, did they manage themselves and the publick affairs. Of which these things are sufficient proofs, that such as fought the enemy contrary to orders, were often punished, than such as deserted, or in time of action quitted their posts. But in peace the administration was managed more in the way of kindness than terror: And in case of an injury received, they chose rather to forgive, than revenge it.

X. But when by the practice of industry and justice, the Roman state was come to a considerable height, great princes conquered, wild nations and mighty states brought under subjection by dint of arms, and Carthage that was rival with Rome for the empire of the world, utterly destroyed; and all parts of it, whether by sea, or by land, at the devotion of the peri-

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pericula, dubias atque asperas res facile toleraverant, iis otium, divitiae, optandae aliis, oneri miseriæque fuere. Igitur primo pecuniae, dein imperii cupidio crevit. Ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere. Namque avaritia fidem, probitatem, ceterasque artis bonas subvertit; pro his superbiam, crudelitatem, deos neglegere, omnia venalia habere edocuit. Ambitio multos mortalis falsos fieri subegit; aliud clausum in pectore, aliud promptum in lingua habere; amicitias inimicitiasque non ex re, sed ex commodo, aestumare; magisque vultum, quam ingenium, bonum habere. Hæc primo paullatim crescere, interdum vindicari. Post, ubi contagio, quasi pestilentia, invasit; civitas immutata, imperium, ex justissimo atque optimo, crudele intolerandumque factum.

XI. Sed primo magis ambitio, quam avaritia, animos hominum exercebat: Quod tamen vitium proprius virtuti erat. Nam gloriam, honorem, imperium, bonus, ignavus, æque sibi exoptant. Sed ille vera via nititur; huic quia bona artes desunt, dolis atque fallaciis contendit. Avaritia pecuniae

Romans; fortune began to shew her malice, and confound all. For they who had endured fatigues, dangers, and the most severe trials, with ease, found peace and plenty (desirable things with the rest of men) to be their bane. First the love of money, and then of power grew upon them, and proved the occasion of all manner of mischief. For avarice was the destruction of faith, honesty, and other good qualities; and in the room thereof, brought in fashion, pride, cruelty, profaneness, and a mercenary spirit. Ambition obliged many to breach of faith, and to have one thing in their hearts, and another upon their tongues; to contract or break friendship, not as honour, but their interest required; and to seem good, rather than be really so. These vices grew up but slowly for some time, and were now and then punished. But the infection at last carrying all before it like the plague, the state was hugely altered, and the government, from being the most just, and the best that ever was, became cruel and intolerable.

XI. But at first ambition more than avarice influenced the minds of the Romans: Which vice, however, had some resemblance of a virtue. For the brave, and the base-spirited, are equally fond of glory, honour, and power. But the former pursues them in the right way; whereas the latter, as destitute of all good qualities, endeavours to come at them in the way of trick and deceit. Avarice

studium habet ; quam nemo sapiens concupivit. Ea, quasi venenis malis imbuta, corpus animumque virilem effeminat : Semper infinita, infatibilis est ; neque copia, neque inopia minuitur. Sed, postquam L. Sulla, armis recepta republica, bonis initiis malos eventus habuit ; rapere omnes, trahere. Domum alius, alias agros cupere ; neque modum neque modestiam victores habere ; fœda crudeliaque in civis facinora facere. Huc accedebat, quod L. Sulla exercitum, quem in Asia ductaverat, quo sibi fidum faceret, contra morem majorum, luxuriose nimisque liberaliter habuerat. Loca amœna, voluptaria facile in otio ferocis militum animos molliverant. Ibi primum infuevit exercitus populi Romani amare, potare ; signa, tabulas pictas, vasa cœlata mirari ; ea privatim ac publice rapere ; delubra spoliare ; sacra profanaque omnia polluere. Igitur hi milites, postquam victoriam adepti sunt, nihil reliqui vicis fecere. Quippe secundæ res sapientium animos fatigant :

is nothing but an extravagant desire of money, which no wise man was ever fond of. And this passion, as if it was enforced by the power of enchantment, enervates both the bodies and souls of men, is ever boundless and insatiable, not to be reduced by either plenty or want. But after Lucius Sylla seized upon the government by force of arms, and tho' he begun well, yet run into great outrages, rapine and violence prevailed universally. The conquerors, one set his heart upon a fine house, another upon lands, and in the prosecution of their several desires, had not the least tincture of moderation or modesty at all, but practised all the most abominable excesses of cruelty upon their fellow-citizens. Besides this, L. Sulla, in order to engage the army he had commanded in Asia, to stand by him, did, contrary to the usage of our ancestors, slacken the reins of discipline, in the way of indulgence and profusion, to a great excess. And the pleasant voluptuous country of Asia had, after the war was ended there, strangely softened the rugged minds of the soldiery. There first of all did the Roman troops contract a passion for whoring and drinking, statues, pictures, and fine-wrought plate, which they publickly and privately made plunder of, robbing the temples of the Gods, and sparing no places whatever, whether sacred or profane. For those soldiers, after their conquests in those parts, left the conquered nothing at all. Success in-

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Ne illi, corruptis morib
ribus, victoriae tempe
rarent.

an army so corrupted by ill discipline, should make so bad a use of their conquest.

deed makes a strong impression upon the minds of wise men, and therefore it is not to be wondered at, if

XII. Postquam divitiae honori esse cœperunt, & eas gloria, imperium, potentia sequebatur: habescere virtus, paupertas probro haberit, innocentia pro malevolentia duci cœpit. Igitur ex divitiis juventutem luxuria atque avaritia cum superbia invadere. Rapere, consumere; sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere; pudorem, pudicitiam, divina atque humana promiscua, nihil pensi neque moderati habere. Operæ pretium est, cum domos atque villas cognoveris in urbium modum exædificatas, visere templa deorum, quæ nostri majores, religiosissimi mortales, fecere. Verum illi delubra deorum pietate, domos suas gloria decorabant; neque vicitis quidquam præter injuriæ licentiam, eripiebant. At hi contra, ignavissimi homines, per summum scelus omnia ea sociis adimere, quæ fortissimi viri victores hostibus reliquerunt: Proinde quasi injuriam facere, id demum esset impietudo uti.

XIII. Nam quid ea memorem, quæ, nisi his,

XII. When riches now begun to be in such vast esteem, and to be attended with glory, command, and power; virtue begun to languish, poverty to be accounted matter of reproach, and innocence to pass for ill-nature. Hereupon our youth became infected with luxury, avarice, and pride all together. They now ravaged and wasted all before them, and never satisfied with what was their own, were ever longing for what was not; trampled upon modesty, friendship, chastity, and every thing else, divine or human, without distinction; and throwing off all restraint, had not the least care or concern for any thing that was good. It is worth while to take a view of the fine houses in town and country, and then to visit the temples of the Gods, built by our forefathers, the most religious of mankind. But they graced the temples of the Gods with their piety, and their houses with glory: And took nothing from those they conquered, but the licence of doing mischief. But those I spoke of above, the most worthless of men, have in the most wicked manner ravished from our allies, all the brave old conquerors had left them; as if the use of power consisted in the doing of mischief.

XIII. For why should I spend time in the relation of things, qui

qui videre nemini credibilia sunt; a privatis pluribus subversos montis, maria constrata esse? Quibus mihi ludibrio videntur fuisse divitiae; quippe, quas honeste habere licebat, per turpidinem abuti properabant. Sed lubido stupri, ganeæ, cæterique cultus non minor incesserat. Viri pati muliebria: Mulieres pudicitiam in propatulo habere: Vescendi causa terra marique omnia exquirere: Dormire prius, quam somni cupido esset: Non famem aut fitim, neque frigus neque lassitudinem operiri, sed ea omnia luxu antecapere. Hæc juventutem, ubi familiares opes defecerant, ad facinora incendebant. Animus imbutus malis artibus, haud facile lubidinibus carebat: Eo profusius omnibus modis quaestui atque sumptui deditus erat.

XIV. In tanta tamque corrupta civitate, Catilina, id quod factu facillimum erat, omnium flagitiosorum atque facinorosorum circum se, tamquam stipatorum, catervas habebat. Nam, quiunque impudicus, adulter, ganeo, alea, manu, ventre, pene bona patria laceraverat, quique alienum æs grande conclave-

which can appear credible to no one that has not seen them; as the levelling of mountains, building fine palaces in the sea itself, by many private persons; who seem'd to play with their riches, in the way of bantering, as it were, and abusing them in the most scandalous manner, when they might have enjoyed them with honour. Nor were they less extravagant in their amours, and all the articles of furniture and equipage: The men and women were guilty of the most barefaced prostitution. Sea and land were ransacked to furnish out their tables with dainties. And the natural return of sleep, hunger, and thirst, were anticipated by a luxurious indulgence. The practice of these vices first reduced the youth of Rome to want, and then pushed them upon all manner of villany. The mind being once inured to those vile practices, knew not how to forego the gratification of its lusts, and so was the more violently bent upon all the ways of both getting and spending.

XIV. In so great and so wicked a city, Catilina, as was no hard matter to be sure, had troops of flagitious, profligate fellows, like so many life-guard men, always about him. For all your catamites, cuckold-makers, rakes, that had spent their estates, in all the ways of luxury and lewdness, all such as had run over head and ears in debt, to screen themselves from the punishment due to their crimes, parricides besides from all quar-

rat,

rat, quo flagitium aut facinus redimeret; præterea, omnes undique paricidæ, sacrilegi, convicti judiciis, aut pro factis judicium timentes; ad hoc, quos manus atque lingua perjurio & sanguine civili alebat; postremo, omnes, quos flagitium, egestas, conscius animus exagitabat, hi Catilinæ proxumi familiarisques erant. Quod si quis etiam a culpa vacuuus in amicitiam ejus inciderebat; quotidiano usu atque illecebris facile par similiisque cæteris efficiebatur. Sed maxime adolescentium familiaritates appetebat. Eorum animi, molles & ætate fluxi, dolis haud difficulter capiebantur. Nam, uti cujusque studium ex ætate flagrabat, aliis scorta præbere, aliis canes atque equos mercari: Postremo neque sumptui neque modestiæ suæ parcere, dum illos obnoxios fidosque sibi faceret. Scio fuisse nonnullos, quia ita existimarent; juventutem, parum honeste pudicitiam habuisse. Sed ex aliis rebus magis, quam quod cuiquam id compertum foret, hæc fama valebat.

XV. Jamprimum adolescens Catilina multa nefanda stupra fecerat, cum virgine nobili, cum sacerdote Vestæ; & alia hujuscemodi contra jus

ters, sacrilegious rascals, such as had been already legally convicted of horrid villanies, or feared so to be; and further, all such as maintained themselves by perjury or murder: Finally, all whom wickedness, want, or a guilty conscience made uneasy; these were Catiline's nearest and most intimate friends. And if any innocent person happened to be engaged in any friendship with him, by daily conversation and wheedling, he was soon made like the rest of the crew. But those he chiefly affected to draw into his party, were young gentlemen. Their minds being, by reason of their age, soft and pliable, were easily cajoled. For, according to their several inclinations, some he furnished with whores, for others he would buy dogs and horses. Finally, he stuck at no cost, or breach of modesty, whatever, to get them into his power, and secure them to his interest. I am sensible, some people were of opinion, that the youth that frequented Catiline's house, were engaged in unnatural lewdness; but this fancy proceeded, I suppose, not so much from any certain evidence of the thing, as other reasons.

quæ domum Catilinæ frequentabant, parum honeste pudicitiam habuisse. Sed ex aliis rebus magis, quam quod cuiquam id compertum foret, hæc fama valebat.

XV. Catiline himself, when a young fellow, had been engaged in several villainous intrigues with a young lady of high quality, one of the Vestal Nuns, and many other the like abominable pranks. At fas

fasque. Postremo, captus amore Aureliae Orestillæ, cuius, præter formam nihil umquam bonus laudavit, quod ea nubere illi dubitabat, timens privignum adulterum ætate; pro certo creditur, necato filio, vacuam domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse. Quæ quidem res mihi in primis videtur caussa fuisse facinoris matutandi. Namque animus impurus, dis hominibusque infestus, neque vigiliis neque quietibus sedari poterat: Ita conscientia mentem excitam vexabat. Igitur colos ei exsanguis, faeci oculi; cito modo, modo tardus incepsus; prorsus in facie vultuque recordia inerat.

XVI. Sed juventutem, quam, ut supra diximus, illexerat, multis modis mala facinora edocebat, ex illis testis signatoresque falsos commodare; fidem, fortunas, pericula vilia habere. Post, ubi eorum famam atque pudorem attriverat, majora alia imperabat. Si caussa peccandi in præfens minus suppetebat; nihilo minus insontes, sicuti sonates, circumvenire, jugulare. Scilicet, ne per otium torpescerent manus, aut animus, gratuito potius malus atque crudelis erat. His amicis

last he fell in love with Aurelia Orestilla, in whom no good man ever commended any thing but her beauty; and because she made a scruple of marrying him, by reason his son was at man's estate, it is believed for a certainty, he murthered him, to make way for so wicked a match. Which indeed, I believe, might be the reason of his pushing his enterprize with so much violence as he did. For his polluted soul, fired with rage against both Gods and men, could find no rest either waking or sleeping; so much was he haunted with the terrors of an evil conscience. Accordingly his complexion was very pale, his eyes gashly, his gate sometimes quick, sometimes slow: In short, his whole appearance was perfectly that of a mad man.

XVI. Now the young men he wheedled in to join him, as has been above said, he trained up to villainy by various ways; from amongst them he used to furnish false witnesses, and others to sign forged deeds, teaching them by that means to set light by their honour, estates, and danger. And after he had utterly suppressed in them all regard to credit or shame, he put them upon greater projects. And if no present opportunity presented for the exercise of their talent, yet he kept them doing, by employing them to circumvent and murder such as had given him no offence, as if they had; that is, to keep their hands and minds in ure, he was wicked and cruel, sociis-

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sociisque confisus Catilina, simul quod æs alienum per omnis terras ingens erat, & quod plerique Sullani milites, largius suo usi, rapinarum & victoriæ veteris memores, civile bellum exoptabant, opprimundæ reipublicæ consilium cepit. In Italia nullus exercitus: Cn. Pompejus in extremis terris bellum gerebat; ipsi consulatum petundi magna spes; Senatus nihil sane intentus: Tuta tranquillæque res omnes. Sed ea prorsus opportuna Catilinæ.

pear'd very secure; and all things seemed to present Catiline with a favourable opportunity of carrying his point.

XVII. Igitur circiter Kalendas Jun. L. Cæsar & C. Figulo consuli bus, primo singulos appellare; hortari alios, alios tentare; opes suas, imparatam rempublicam, magna præmia conjurati onis docere. Ubi satis explorata sunt, quæ voluit; in unum omnis convocat, quibus maxima necessitudo & plurimum audacia inerat. Eo convenire senatorii ordinis P. Lentulus Sura, P. Antronius, L. Cassius Longinus, C. Cethagus, P. & Ser. Sullæ Servii filii, L. Varguntejus, Q. Annius, M. Porcius Læcca, L. Bestia, Q. Curius:

without any provocation so to be. Catiline confiding in these friends and accomplices, and because the number of persons involved in debt was every where very great, and because too most of Sulla's old soldiers, having made an end of what they had gotten, and rememb ring full well the plunder they had made upon Sulla's success, wished for a civil war; Catiline, I say, putting these several things together, entered into a design of usurping the government. There was no army in Italy; Cn. Pompey was carrying on a war in the remotest parts of the earth: He himself had great hopes of obtaining the Consulship; the Senate ap pear'd very secure; and all was safe and quiet; which several things seemed to present Catiline with a favourable opportunity of carrying his point.

XVII. Wherefore about the first of January, in the year of the Consulship of L. Cæsar, and C. Figulus, he applies himself to his associates separately first; some he encouraged, others he tried; he acquaints them with his strength, how little the government was provided to oppose him, and what vast advantages they might promise themselves from the success of the conspiracy. After he had sufficiently sifted them with relation to his design, he draws together such of them as were under the greatest difficulties, and appeared the most daring. Upon that occasion assembled of the Senatorian rank, Publius Lentulus Sura, Publius Antronius, Lucius Cassius Longinus, Caius Cethagus, Publius and Servius the Sons of Sulla Ser-
C 2
Præ-

Præterea, ex equestri ordine, M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, C. Cornelius: Ad hoc, multi ex coloniis & municipiis domi nobiles. Erant præterea complures paullo occultius consilii hujuscē participes nobiles; quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur, quam inopia aut alia necessitudo. Cæterum, juventus pleraque, sed maxime nobilium, Catilinæ incœptis favebat. Quibus in otio vel magnifice vel molliter vivere copia erat, incerta pro certis, bellum, quam pacem, malebant. Fuerere item ea tempestate, qui crederent M. Licinum Crassum non ignarum ejus consilii fuissent: Quia Cneius Pompejus, invitus ipsi, magnum exercitum ducebatur, cujusvis opes voluisse contra illius potentiam crescere: Simul consilium, si conjuratio valuerisset, facile apud illos principem se fore. Sed antea item conjurare pauci, in quibus Catilina. De quo, quam verissime potero, dicam.

XVIII. L. Tullo, M. Lepido consl. P. Autronius & P. Sulla, designati consules, legibus ambitus interrogati, pœnas dederant. Post paulo Catili-

lius, Lucius Varguntejus, Quintus Annius, Marcus Porcius Læta, Lucius Bestia, Quintus Curtius; and besides these, of Equestrian rank, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Lucius Statilius, Publius Gabinius Capito, Caius Cornelius; and over and above this company, many from the colonies and borough-towns, nobly descended there. There were likewise a good many noblemen, who under-hand countenanced the design, whom the hopes of power, more than want, or any other necessity, engaged therein. But most of the youth, especially amongst the nobility, favoured Catiline's undertaking; who might have lived in great quiet, splendidly and pleasantly: But they chose rather uncertainties for things certain, and war rather than peace. There were some too at that time, who did really believe, that Mark Crassus was not unacquainted with the design; because Cn. Pompey, whom he mortally hated, commanded a great army, to reduce whose power, he was ready to raise any one whatever; but hoped too, if the conspiracy succeeded, to have the chief sway. But before this time, some few gentlemen had entered into a conspiracy against the state, of which Catiline was one, concerning which I shall here give as true an account as I can.

XVIII. In the Consulship of Lucius Tullus and Mark Lepidus, Publius Autronius and Publius Sulla Consuls elect, had been prosecuted for bribery, and punished. Some little time after, Catiline

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na, pecuniarum repetundarum reus, prohibitus erat petere consulatum; quod intra legitimos dies profiteri nequiverit. Erat eodem tempore Cn. Piso, adolescens nobilis, summae audaciæ, egens, factiosus; quem ad perturbandam rempublicam inopia atque mali mores stimulabant. Cum hoc Catilina & Autronius, circiter Nonas Decembr. consilio communicato, parabant in Capitolio Kalendis Januar. L. Cottam & L. Torquatum coss. interficere; ipsi, fascibus correptis, Pisonem cum exercitu ad obtinendas duas Hispanias mittere. Ea re cognita, rursus in Nonas Februari. consilium cædis transtulerunt. Jam tum non consulibus modo, sed plerisque senatoribus, perniciem machinabantur. Quod ni Catilina matraret pro curia signum sociis dare; eo die, post conditam urbem Romam, pessimum facinus patratum foret. Quia nondum frequentes armati converant; ea res consilium diremit.

XIX. Postea Piso in citeriorem Hispaniam quæstor pro prætore missus est, admittente Crassio; quod eum infestum Cn. Pompejo cognoverat.

being likewise prosecuted for extortion, was not allowed to stand candidate for the Consulship, because he could not enter his name for that purpose, within the time limited by law. There was at that time Cn. Piso, a noble youth of great boldness, poverty, and a factious spirit: Whom vice and want together excited to disturb the government. With him Catiline and Autronius entering into a cabal about the nones of December, came to a resolution of assassinating, the first of January following, the Consuls Luke Cotta, and Luke Torquatus; whereupon they were to seize the Consulship, and send Piso with an army to be governor of the two Spains. But the plot being discovered, they deferred the intended murther to the nones of February. And now they proposed not only to take off the Consuls, but most of the Senators too. And had not Catiline been too hasty in giving the signal for that purpose before the Senate-house, that day would have beeen executed the horridest villany, that had ever been perpetrated from the building of Rome, to that time. But as there was no great appearance of the conspirators, that prevented the execution of their design.

XIX. Afterwards Piso was sent Quæstor, but with the authority of Prætor, into Spain, by the interest of Crassus, because he knew him to be a bitter enemy of Cn. Pompey, the Senate not

Neque tamen senatus provinciam invitus dede-
rat. Quippe fœdum hominem a republica procul abesse volebat: Simul, quia boni complures præ-
fidium in eo putabant, & jam tum potentia Cn. Pompeji formidolosa erat. Sed is Piso, in provinci-
am, ab equitibus Hispanis, quos in exercitu duc-
tabat, iter faciens, occi-
sus est. Sunt qui ita di-
cant, imperia ejus injusta,
superba, crudelia barba-
ros nequivisse pati. Alii
autem, equites illos, Cn.
Pompeji veteres fidosque
clientes, voluntate ejus
Pisonem aggressos :
Numquam hispanos præ-
terea tale facinus fecisse,
sed imperia sœva multa
antea perpessos. Nos
eam rem in medio relin-
quimus. De superiori
conjuratione satis dictum.

XX. Catilina, ubi eos,
quos paullo ante memo-
ravi, convenisse videt, ta-
meti cum singulis multa
sæpe egerat, tamen in
rem fore credens universos
appellare & cohortari, in
abditam partem ædium
secessit, atque ibi, omni-
bus arbitris procul amo-
tis, orationem hujuscemo-
di habuit. *Ni virtus fi-
desque vestra satis specta-
ta mibi foret ; nequic-
quam opportuna res ceci-
disset ; spes magna, domi-*

*being averse to the thing, in or-
der to get rid of so troublesome a
fellow, as also because a great
many honest men thought good use
might be made of him in opposi-
tion to the power of Pompey,
which was now become formida-
ble. But Piso was, in his march
for Spain, assassinated by some
Spanish horse he had in his army.
The reason whereof, some say,
was his unjust, haughty, cruel
behaviour in his command, which
the barbarians were not able to
endure. But others will have it,
that those horse were some old
trusty clients of Cn. Pompey's,
and took off Piso by his encou-
ragement. For the Spaniards
had never been guilty of any
thing like that before, but had
bore the cruelty of several other
governors with patience. We
shall leave the matter undeter-
mined. And so much for that
conspiracy.*

XX. When Catiline saw his
company above-mentioned assem-
bled, tho' he had before had much
conference with them singly and
separately, yet judging it proper to
speak to them all together, and
encourage them to the work, he
retired with them into a private
part of his house, where he ad-
dress'd them in the following ha-
rangue. If your virtue and ho-
nor were not sufficiently known
to me, a most lucky opportunity
for our intended project would
have presented itself in vain ; vast
hopes and dominion would have
natio-

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natio in manibus frustra fuissent: Neque per ignaviam aut vana ingenia, incerta pro certis captarem. Sed, quia multis & magnis tempestatis bus vos cognovi fortis fidosque mihi, eo animus auras est maximum atque pulcherrimum facinus incipere, simul, quia vobis eadem, quæ mihi, bona malaque esse intellexi. Nam idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est. Sed, ego quæ mente agitavi, omnes jam antea divisi auditis. Cæterum mihi indies magis animus accenditur, cum considero, quæ conditio vitæ futura sit, nisi nosmetipſos vindicamus in libertatem. Nam postquam respublica in paucorum potentium jus atque ditionem concessit; semper illis reges, tetrarchæ vectigales esse; populi, nationes stipendia pendere; cæteri omnes, strenui, boni, nobiles atque ignobiles, vulgus sumus, sine gratia, sine auctoritate, his obnoxii, quibus, si respublica valeret, formidini essemus. Itaque omnis gratia, potentia, bonos, divitiæ apud illos sunt, aut ubi illi volunt: Nobis reliquerunt pericula, repulsa, judicia, egestatem. Quæ quoisque tandem

dropped into our hands to no purpose. Nor would I for certainties pursue uncertainties, by the help of sorry fellows not to be depended on. But as I have, upon many important occasions, found you gallant and faithful to me, I have thereby been encouraged to engage in the greatest and most glorious undertaking that ever was, and the rather, because I am sensible our interests are the very same. For a union of interest is the only lasting bond of friendship. But you have already each of you heard apart what it is I propose to go upon. And I am daily more heartily disposed thereto, when I consider what sort of life we must lead, if we do not endeavour the recovery of our liberty. For since all power and authority has been engrossed by a few great men, Kings and Tetrarchs have been tributary to them; to them only have the several nations and provinces of the Empire paid taxes. The rest of us, however brave and honest, whether noble or ignoble, have been treated as mob only, without interest or authority, in a slavish subjection to those, to whom we should be a terror, if the government was upon a right foot. Now all interest, power, honour, and riches, are with them, or where they please. They have left us nothing but dangers, dishonour, impeachments, and want. And how long, my most gallant friends, will you take all this at their hands? Is it not better to die bravely, than to lose a miserable dishonourable life in a pati-

*patiemini, fortissimi vi-
ri? Nonne emori per
virtutem præstat, quam
vitam miseram atque inhonestam, ubi alienæ superbiæ ludibrii
fueris, per dedecus amittere?*

XXI. Verum enim vero,
*Prob deum atque homi-
num fidem! victoria in
manu nobis est: Viget
ætas, animus valet. Con-
tra illis, annis atque di-
vitiis, omnia consenue-
runt. Tantummodo in-
cæpto opus est: Cætera
res expediet. Etenim
quis mortalium, cui virile
ingenium est, tolerare po-
test, illis divitias superare,
quas profundant in extru-
endo mari & montibus
coæquandis; nobis rem
familiarem etiam ad ne-
cessaria deesse? Illos bi-
nas, aut amplius, domos
continuare; nobis larem
familiarem nusquam ul-
lum esse? Cum tabulas,
signa, toremata emunt,
nova diruunt, alia ædifi-
cant: Postremo omnibus
modis pecuniam trahunt,
vexant: Tamen summa
lubidine divitias suas vin-
cere nequeunt. At nobis
est domi inopia, foris æs
alienum; mala res, spes
multo asperior. Denique,
quid reliqui habemus,
præter miseram ani-
mam? Quin igitur ex-
pergiscimini? En illa,
illa, quam sæpe optastis,
libertas; præterea divi-
tiae, decus, gloria in ocu-*

disgraceful manner, after you have been exposed to the insults of their haughty disdain?

XXI. But, O Gods! Victory is in our hands; we are in the prime of our strength, our minds in full vigour: They upon the decline both from age and luxury. We need but begin, the project will execute itself. For what mortal, that has the spirit of a man in him, can endure with patience, that they should so wallow in riches, as to waste them in straitening the very feasts by their large and stately buildings, and in the levelling of mountains, whilst we are in want of necessaries: That they should have two houses or more, and we none at all? They, tho' they are ever purchasing fine pictures, statues, and vessels of fine workmanship, are ever pulling down even new houses, and building them up again: In short, tho' they contrive all the ways and means imaginable, to waste and consume their money, yet with all their extravagance they can see no end of their riches: Whilst we have nothing but want at home, and debt abroad, our condition bad, and our expectations worse. Finally, what have we left, but a wretched life? Rouze then, Gentlemen. See now the liberty you have so often wished for, riches moreover, honour and glory, are all in view. Fortune offers all these rewards to the conquerors. Let the case itself, the juncture, your danger,

lis

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lis sita sunt. Fortuna ea omnia victoribus præmia posuit. Res, tempus, pericula, egestas, belli spolia magnifica magis, quam oratio mea, vos hortentur. Vel imperatore vel milite me utimini. Neque animus neque corpus a vobis aberit. Hæc ipsa, ut spero, vobiscum una consul agam: nisi forte me animus fallit, & vos servire magis, quam imperare, parati estis.

XXII. Postquam accepere ea homines, quibus mala abunde omnia erant, sed neque res, neque spes bona ulla; tametsi illis, quieta movere, magna merces videbatur; tamen postulare plerique, uti proponeret, quæ conditio belli foret, quæ armis præmia peterent; quid ubique opis aut spei haberent. Tum Catilina polliceri tabulas novas, proscriptionem locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia, quæ bellum atque lubido victorum fert. Præterea, esse in Hispania citeriore Pisonem, in Mauritania cum exercitu P. Sitiū Nucerinum, consilii sui participes. Petere consulatum C. Antonium, quem sibi collegam fore speraret, hominem & familiarem & omnibus necessitudinibus circumventum. Cum eo consulem se initium

want, and the noble spoils of a war work upon you, more than my speech. You shall have me either for your leader, or your fellow-soldier. Neither my body nor mind shall ever forsake you. The things I am now speaking to you about, I hope to act in possession of the Consular dignity conjointly with you, unless my guess fails me, and you prefer slavery before power and dominion,

XXII. *The company, upon hearing this speech, tho' they were all wretched to the last degree, and without the least hope of any amendment of their condition; and tho' they were inclinable too to think they might possibly find their own account in a publick confusion; yet most of them desired to know, upon what terms they were to engage in this war, or what advantage they were to reap by it; what strength they had, or what hopes of success. Then Catiline promised them a cancelling of all past debts, a proscription of the rich, places in the magistracy, or the priesthood, free plunder, and all things else that war, and the licence of conquest, are apt to produce. Besides, he told them, there was Piso in hither Spain, and Publius Sitius Nucerinus in Mauritania, with an army, who were both embarked with him in the design.* That C. Antonius was candidate for the Consulship, whom he hoped to have for his colleague, a man that was his intimate friend, and engaged in all D *agendi*

agendi facturum. Ad hoc, maledictis increpabat omnis bonos; suorum unumquemque nominans, laudare, admonere alium egestatis, alium cupiditatis suæ, complures periculi aut ignominiæ, multos victoriæ Sullanæ, quibus ea prædæ fuerat. Postquam omnium animos alacris videt; cohortatus ut petitionem suam curæ haberent, convenutum dimisit.

XXIII. Fuere ea tempestate, qui dicerent, Catilinam, oratione habita, cum ad jusjurandum populares sceleris sui adigeret, humani corporis sanguinem vino permixtum in pateris circumtulisse; inde, cum post exsecrationem omnes degustavissent, sicuti in solemnibus sacrifìi fieri consuevit, apertus confílum suum: atque eo dictitare fecisse, quo inter se magis fidiforent, aliis alii tanti facinoris concii. Nonnulli ficta & hæc & multa præterea existumabant ab iis, qui Ciceronis invidiam, quæ postea orta est, leniri credebant atrocitate sceleris eorum, qui poenas dederant. Nobis ea res pro magnitudine parum comperta est.

possible ties and obligations to him; that he would enter upon the affair in conjunction with him. To this he added a great deal of bitter reflection upon all the honest party, and then naming his own singly each, one he highly commended, another he put in mind of his poverty, another of something he longed for, most of them of their danger or shame, and many of their success under Sulla, whereby they had been enriched. And perceiving them all to be much elevated, he advised them to take care of his interest in the ensuing election, and then broke up the assembly.

XXIII. There were at that time some who said that Catiline, after the making of this speech of his, administered an oath to his fellow-conspirators, and obliged them to drink a mixture of wine and man's blood, handed about in bowls; which when they had done, in imitation of the custom of drinking wine round in solemn sacrifices, he more fully disclosed to them his intentions, and told them, he had made use of that ceremony, to engage them the more effectually to a faithful unanimous execution of so noble a design. But some believed all this, and much more of the like kind, was mere fiction, proceeding from such as thought the odium, which Cicero afterwards fell under, might be abated by the horrid wickedness of those that were punished by him. For my part, I must own I have not met with any sufficient evidence for so heinous a charge.

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XXIV. Sed in ea coniuratione fuit Q. Curius, natus haud obscuro loco, flagitiis atque facinoribus coopertus; quem censores senatu probri gratia moverant. Huic homini non minor vanitas inerat, quam audacia. Neque reticere quæ audierat, neque facere, quidquam pensi habebat. Erat ei cum Fulvia, muliere nobili, stupri vetus consuetudo. Cui cum minus gratus esset, quod inopia minus largiri poterat, re-pente gloriens maria montisque polliceri; minari interdum ferro, nisi sibi obnoxia foret. Postremo, ferocius agitare, quam solitus erat. At Fulvia, insolentiae Curii causa cognita, tale periculum reipublicæ haud occultum habuit; sed, sublato auctore, de Catilinæ coniuratione, quæ quo modo audierat, compluribus narravit. Ea res in primis studia hominum accedit ad consulatum mandandum M. Tullio Ciceroni. Namque antea pleraque nobilitas invidia æstuabat, & quasi pollui consulatum credebat, si eum, quamvis egregius, homo novus adeptus foret. Sed ubi periculum advenit, invidia atque superbia post fuere.

XXIV. Now in this conspiracy was engaged Q. Curius, descended of no mean family, but a vile profligate wretch, whom the Censors, for his scandalous life, had struck out of the list of the Senators. This man had an equal share of vanity and impudence; was neither able to contain a secret, nor even to conceal his own wicked pranks; in short, he neither regarded what he said, or what he did. He had an old intrigue with one Fulvia, a lady of noble birth; but declining in favour with her, by reason of his poverty, which disabled him for making the presents she expected from him, he begun all on a sudden to bounce, and promise her golden mountains, and sometimes threatened to stab her, if she would not comply with his inclinations; and in short, behaved in a much more sawcy, haughty manner, than he had ever been used to do before. Fulvia, when she came to understand the occasion of all this insolence, made no secret of the danger the state was in, but told to several all she had heard relating to Catiline's conspiracy, yet without naming her author. This discovery made the people in general zealous for choosing M. Tully Cicero Consul. For before this, almost all the nobility used to fret with envy, and look upon the Consular dignity as defiled, when any person of low birth, how excellently qualified soever he was, happened to procure the same. But now, upon the appearance of this danger, envy and pride vanished at once.

XXV. Igitur, comitiis habitis, consules declarantur M. Tullius & C. Antonius. Quod factum primo populares conjurationis concusserat. Neque tamen Catilinæ furor minuebatur ; sed indies plura agitare ; arma per Italiam locis opportunis parare ; pecuniam, sua aut amicorum fide sumptam mutuam, Fæsulas ad Manlium quemdam portare ; qui postea princeps fuit belli faciundi. Ea tempestate plurimos cujusque generis homines ad civilem sibi dicitur ; mulieres etiam aliquot, quæ primo ingentis sumptus stupro corporis toleraverant ; post, ubi ætas tantummodo quæstui, neque luxuriæ modum fecerat, æs alienum grande conflaverant. Per eas se Catilina credebat posse servitia urbana solicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum vel adjungere sibi vel interficere.

XXVI. Sed in his erat Sempronia, quæ multa sœpe virilis audaciae facinora commiserat. Hæc mulier genere atque forma, præterea viro atque liberis satis fortunata fuit : Literis Græcis & latinis docta ; psallere, saltare elegantius, quam necesse est probæ ; multa alia, quæ instrumenta luxuriæ sunt.

XXV. Accordingly at the ensuing election, M. Tully and C. Antonius were declared Consuls, which at first gave a great shock to the conspirators. However, the madness of Catiline did not abate upon it at all. He was every day more and more taken up with fresh projects ; he lodged arms in the most convenient places for his design, up and down Italy ; took up money upon his own credit, or that of his friends, and sent it to Fæsulæ to Manlius, who was afterwards the first that appeared in arms for the cause. He is said at the same time to have drawn in great numbers of all ranks, and some women, who in the prime of their years had supported their extravagance by prostitution ; but when age put an end to that trade, tho' not to their luxury, had run themselves into a great deal of debt. Catiline expected by their means to engage the city-slaves for him, to fire the town, and either draw over their husbands to join him, or murther them.

XXVI. Amongst these was Sempronia, who had in her time, with a boldness very uncommon with the sex, play'd a great many mad pranks. This woman was happy in her extraction and person, as likewise a husband and children ; a great mistress of the Greek and Latin tongue ; would play upon an instrument, and dance more finely than any honest woman needs to do ; and in several funt.

Sed ei cariora semper omnia, quam decus atque pudicitia fuit. Pecuniae an famae minus parceret, haud facile discerneres. Lubidine sic accensa, ut saepius petret viros, quam petetur. Sed ea saepe antehac fidem prodiderat, creditum abjuraverat, cædis conscientia fuerat, luxuria atque inopia præceps abierat. Verum, ingenium ejus haud absurdum. Posse versus facere; jocum movere; sermone uti, vel modesto, vel molli, vel proaci. Prorsus multæ facetiae, multusque lepos inerat.

and equally fitted for modest or wanton conversation. In short, she was an exceeding pleasant witty woman.

XXVII. His rebus comparatis, Catilina nihilominus in proximum annum consulatum petebat; sperans, si designatus foret, facile se ex voluntate Antonio usurrum. Neque interea quietus erat, sed omnibus modis infidias parabat Ciceroni. Neque illi tamen ad cavendum dolus aut astutiae deerant. Namque a principio consulatus sui, multa per Fulviam pollicendo effecerat, ut Q. Curius, de quo paulo ante memoravi, confilia Catilinæ sibi proderet. Ad hoc, collegam suum Antonium pactione provinciae perpulerat, ne contra temp publicam sentiret:

other articles of luxury she was very nice and dextrous. But for decency and chastity, those were the least of her care. It was hard to say, whether she was more lavish of her money, or her reputation. She was a woman of that furious lust, that she more frequently made advances to the men, than they to her. She had frequently, contrary to her promise given, reveal'd secrets, abjured what had been left in trust with her, had been guilty of murther, and, at the instigation of luxury and poverty together, had run headlong into all manner of wickedness. But she was a woman of parts, could write verses, was very facetious,

and notwithstanding these preparations for the execution of his project, Catiline declared himself a candidate for the Consulship against the next year; in hopes, if he should be chosen, of making Anthony his tool. In the mean time he was not idle, but used his utmost endeavours to take off Cicero, who wanted not cunning and dexterity on his part to countermine all his contrivances. For, as soon as he entered upon the office of Consul, by large promises to Fulvia, he prevailed with Quintus Curius, whom I have mentioned a little above, to discover to him all the designs of Catiline. And further, by the assurance of a province, he engaged Anthony not to act against the government; and had privately guards of friends and clients about him.

Cir-

circum se præsidia amicorum atque clientium occulte habebat. Postquam dies comitiorum venit, & Catilinæ neque petitio, neque infidiae, quas consuli fecerat, prospere cœfere; constituit bellum facere, & extrema omnia experiri; quoniam, quæ occulte tentaverat, aspera fœdaque evenerant.

XXVIII. Igitur C. Manlium Fæsulas, atque in eam partem Etruriæ, Septimium quemdam Camertem in agrum Picenum, C. Julium in Apuliam dimisit; præterea alium alio, quem ubique opportunum sibi fore credebat. Interea Romæ multa simul moliri: Consuli infidias tendere. Parare incendia. Opportuna loca armatis hominibus obfidere. Ipse cum telo esse, item alios jubere, hortari, uti semper intenti paratique essent. Dies noctisque festinare. Vigilare, neque insomniis neque labore fatigari. Postremo, ubi multa agitantि nihil procedit, rursus intempesta nocte conjurationis principes convocat per M. Porcium Læccam, ibique multa de ignavia eorum uestitus, docet se præmisſe Manlium ad eam multitudinem, quam ad capienda arma paraverat; item alios in alia

When the day of election came, and Catiline found that neither his suit for the Consulship, nor his plot for assassinating the Consuls in the field of Mars, succeeded, he resolved upon open war, and to try the utmost extremity; since all his underhand contrivances had miserably miscarried.

XXVIII. Accordingly he dispatched away C. Manlius to Fæsulae, to take care of his concerns there, and in the neighbouring parts of Etruria; one Septimius Camers into the territory of Picene, and C. Julius into Apulia. Others likewise he sent off, one way, and another another, where he thought they might be most subservient to his design. In the mean time he was carrying on several Projects, one to murther the Consul; another to fire the city; another to secure proper places with an armed force. He had always a sword about him, and ordered the rest to be provided after the same manner; and desired them to be always ready, and prepared for action. He was day and night in a hurry, got little sleep, and yet was not fatigued with the want of it, or all the pains he underwent. Finally, when all his endeavours proved abortive, he again summons the principal of the conspirators, by M. Porcius Læcca, to repair to his house in the dead time of the night; and there complaining heavily of their want of spirit and activity, he informs loca

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loca opportuna, qui initium belli facerent; seque ad exercitum proficisci cupere, si prius Ciceronem oppresisset: Eum suis consiliis multum officere. take off Cicero first; for that he very much obstructed his designs.

XXIX. Igitur, perterritis ac dubitantibus cæteris, C. Cornelius eques Rom. operam suam pollicitus, & cum eo L. Varguntejus senator, constituere ea nocte paulo post, cum armatis hominibus, sicuti salutatum, introire ad Ciceronem, & de improviso domi suæ imparatum confodere. Curius, ubi intelligit, quantum periculum consuli impendeat, propere per Fulviam Ciceroni dolum, qui parabatur, enunciavit. Ita illi janua prohibiti, tantum facinus frustra suscepserant. Interea Manlius in Etruria plebem solicitare, egestate simul ac dolore injuriæ novarum rerum cupidam; quod Sullæ dominatione agros bonaque omnia amiserat; præterea latrones cujusque generis, quorum ea in regione magna copia erat, non nullos ex Sullanis colonis, quibus lubido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerant.

to whom lewdness and luxury had left nothing of all the great spoil they had made under him.

them, that he had sent Manlius before him to the people he had prepared to take up arms, and had likewise dispatched away others into proper places, to begin the war: And that he himself was desirous to go to the army, but wanted to

XXIX. All the rest being despirited, and not at all forward to engage in such an affair, C. Cornelius, a Roman Knight, offered his service, and together with him, Lucius Varguntejus, a Senator. They proposed to go that very night with armed men to Ciceron's house, and enter it, under pretence of paying their respects; and then to fall unexpectedly upon him, and stab him, unprovided for a defence. Curius, upon finding how great a danger the Consul was in, immediately dispatches away Fulvia to him, to give him notice of the design. Whereupon the assassins were denied admittance, and that plot was blasted. In the mean time, Manlius in Etruria solicits the common people to rise, who were ripe for a rebellion, instigated by their poverty, and resentment of the injustice that had been done them, having been stripped of their lands and goods under the tyranny of Sulla. He likewise encouraged robbers of all kinds to come in to him, of which there was great plenty in that country. Some likewise he picked up from amongst the old soldiers of Sulla, whom he had settled in the possession of lands in that country,

XXX,

XXX. Ea cum Ciceroni nunciarentur, anticipati malo permotus, quod neque urbem ab infidiis privato consilio longius tueri poterat, neque exercitus Manlii quantus, aut quo consilio foret, satis compertum habebat, rem ad senatum refert, jam antea vulgi rumoribus exagitatam. Itaque, quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet, senatus decrevit, darent operam consules, nequid res publica detrimenti caperet. Ea potestas per senatum, more Romano, magistratui maxima permittitur, exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coercere omnibus modis socios atque civis; domi militiaeque imperium atque judicium sumnum habere. Aliter, fine populi iussu, nulli eorum rerum consuli jus est.

XXXI. Post paucos dies L. Senius senator in senatu literas recitavit, quas Fæfulis allatas sibi dicebat a Q. Fabio; in quibus scriptum erat, C. Manlium arma cepisse, cum magna multitudine ante diem VI. Kal. Nov. simul, id quod in tali re solet, alii portenta atque prodigia nucinabant: alii, conventus fieri, arma portari, Capuae atque in Apulia servile bellum moveri.

XXX. Upon advice of this, Cicero being moved with a sense of the double danger that threatened the Common-wealth, because it was neither possible for him, by his own single endeavours, any longer to secure effectually the city against the plot; nor had he any certain account of the number of Manlius's army, or how he designed to proceed; he lays the matter before the Senate, which was already become the common talk of the town. Upon this, according to ancient custom in a time of great danger, the Senate pass'd a vote, That the Consuls should take care, and provide for the security of the state. Now by such a vote as this, the Consuls become invested with a very extraordinary authority, of raising troops, levying war, and exercising a sort of despotic power, as well over the Romans, as their allies, both at home and abroad. Otherwise, without the people's order, a Consul has no authority for any of these things.

XXXI. A few days after this, Lucius Senius a Senator read a letter in the house, which he said was brought him from Fæfulæ by Quintus Fabius, giving an account, that C. Manlius had taken up arms, with a vast number of people, upon the sixth of the calends of November. At the same time, as it usually happens in such cases, some brought news of strange omens and prodigies, others of unusual assemblies, and the hurrying of arms from place to place; and that the slaves were up at Capua.

Igitur

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Igitur senati decreto Q. Marcius Rex Fæsulas, Q. Metellus Creticus in Apuliam, circumque ea loca missi. Hi utrius ad urbem imperatores erant; impediti, ne triumpharent, calumnia paucorum, quibus omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. Sed prætores Q. Pompejus Rufus Capuam, Q. Metellus Celer in agrum Picenum; hisque permisum, uti pro tempore atque periculo exercitum comparrarent. Ad hoc, si quis indicasset de conjuratione, quæ contra rem publicam facta erat, præmium, servo libertatem & seftertia centum; libero impunitatem ejus rei & seftertia cc. Itemque decrevere, uti familiæ gladiatoriæ Capuam & in cætera municipia distribuerentur pro cujusque opibus; Rōmæ per totam urbem vigilæ haberentur, eisque minores magistratus præfessent.

XXXII. Quibus rebus permota civitas, atque immutata facies urbis erat: ex summa lætitia atque lafcivia, quæ diurna quies pepererat, repente omnis tristitia invasit. Festinare, trepidare, neque loco neque

and in Apulia. Wherefore, by order of the Senate, Q. Marcius Rex was dispatched away to Fæsulae, Q. Metellus Creticus into Apulia, and the places thereabout. These two gentlemen were at that time in the command of armies, attending nigh the city, in expectation of the honour of a triumph; but were baulk'd by the spiteful endeavours of some, whose custom was to do any thing, right or wrong, for money, and nothing without. The Prætors too, Q. Pompeius Rufus was sent to Capua, and Q. Metellus Celer into the territory of Picene, with commissions to levy troops as the exigency of the times and the danger might require. Besides the Senate voted a reward of his freedom, and a hundred thousand festerces, to any slave; and a pardon, with two hundred thousand festerces, to any free-man, that would make any discovery relating to the conspiracy then on foot against the government. They likewise ordered, That gladiators should be dispersed in Capua, and other borough-towns, in numbers proportioned to the abilities of each town for the support of them, and that constant guards should be kept up and down Rome, commanded by the inferiour magistrates.

XXXII. By all these things the city was put into a mighty consternation, and the appearance thereof very much changed; and from a state of jollity and wantonness, which a long quiet had produced, a dismal concern spread through the whole town. There was nothing but hurry and fright E homi;

homini cuiquam satis credere; neque bellum gerere neque pacem habere. Suo quisque metu pericula metiri. Ad hoc, mulieres, quibus pro reipublicæ magnitudine belli timor insolitus incesperat, afflictare se; manus supplices ad cœlum tendere; miserari parvos liberos; rogitare; omnia pavere; superbia atque deliciis omissis, sibi patre atque diffidere. At Catilinæ crudelis animus eadem illa movebat, tametsi præsidia parabantur, & ipse lege Plautia interrogatus erat ab L. Paulo. Postremo, dissimulandi causâ, & quasi sui expurgandi, sicuti jurgio lacessitus foret, in senatum venit. Tum M. Tullius consul, sive præsentiam ejus timens, sive ira commotus, orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem reipublicæ, quam postea scriptam edidit. Sed ubi ille adsedit, Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia, demissu vultu, voce supplici, postulare a patribus, ne quid de se temere crederent: Ea familia ortum, ita ab adolescentia vitam instituisse, ut omnia bona in spe haberet. Ne existumarent, sibi patricio homini, cuius ipsius atque majorum pluri-

every where. No one thought any place, or any company sufficiently secure. They had neither war nor peace, and every one measured the danger by his own fears. Now the women, full of the apprehensions of war, which, by reason of the grandeur of the Roman state, they had not been before used to, bemoaned their case most dismaly, lift up their hands in prayer to heaven, bewailed their little children, were full of enquiry after news, afraid of every thing, and dropping their pride, niceness, and finery, all at once, gave up themselves and their country far gone. But the cruel soul of Catiline still pursued the same wild projects, notwithstanding all the precautions that were taken against him; and tho' he himself was impeached upon the Plautian law by Lucius Paulus. At last he made his appearance in the Senate-house, in order to cloak his villany, and under pretence of clearing himself, as if he had been wrongfully defamed. Then M. Tully the Consul, whether apprehensive of ill consequences from his appearance there, or fired with resentment, made a very fine speech, very suitable to the occasion; which he afterwards put in writing, and published. But after he sate down, Catilina, as he was a finished master in the art of dissimulation, with a dejected look, and humble tone, begun to beg of the house, not rashly to believe what was said of him; that his family was such, and he had from his youth led his life in such a manner, that

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ma beneficia in plebem
R. essent, perdita repu-
blica opus esse; cum eam
servaret M. Tullius, in-
quelinus civis urbis Ro-
mæ. Ad hoc, maledicta
alia cum adderet; obstre-
pere omnes; hostem at-
que parricidam vocare.
Tum ille furibundus:
Quoniam quidem circum-
ventus, inquit, ab inim-
itis præceps agor, incen-
dium meum ruina extin-
guam.

and a parricide. Upon which he, in a mighty rage, said, Since I find myself circumvented, and pushed upon extremities by my enemies, I will put out the fire of your houses, with the utter demolition of them.

XXXIII. Dein se ex curia domum proripuit. Ibi multa secum ipse volvens, quod neque insidiæ consuli procedebant, & ab incendio intelligebat urbem vigiliis munitam, optimum factu credens exercitum augere, ac prius, quam legiones scriberentur, multa antecapere quæ bello usui forent, nocte intempesta cum paucis in Manliana castra profectus est. Sed Cethego atque Lentulo, cæterisque, quorum cognoverat promptam audaciam, mandat, quibus rebus possent, opes factionis conformatum, insidiias consuli maturent; cædem, intendia, aliaque belli facinora parent: Sepe propediem cum magno exercitu ad urbem accessurum.

he had reason to expect every thing he could wish for. He requested of them, they would not believe, that he a nobleman, who had himself, as well as his ancestors, done many services for the people of Rome, should have any occasion to seek the destruction of the commonwealth, whilst M. Tully, who was but a tenant in town, stood up for its preservation. As he proceeded in his reflections upon the Consul, there was a general outcry raised against him by the house, as an enemy to his country,

XXXIII. With that he got hastily out of the house, and went home; where considering with himself, that his designs upon the Consul came to nothing, and that the city was secured against his intention of burning it, by watch and ward constantly kept; he thought his best course would be to increase his army, and to make his advantage by seizing of proper places for his purpose, before the legions designed to oppose him were raised. Accordingly about midnight he went off, with a few attendants, for Manlius's camp. But recommended to Cethagus and Lentulus, and others, whose zeal and boldness he was assured of, by all possible means to strengthen their party, to get rid of Cicero as soon as possible, and prepare for a massacre, firing of the town, and other acts of war: That he would immediately come to the city with a great army.

XXXIV.

XXXIV. Dum hæc Romæ geruntur, C. Manlius ex suo numero legatos ad Q. Marcius Regem mittit, cum mandatis hujuscemodi: *Deos hominesque testamur, Imperator, nos arma neque contra patriam cepisse, neque quo periculum aliis faceremus, sed uti corpora nostra ab injuria tuta forent; qui miseri, egenites, violentia atque crudelitate fœnectorum, plerique patria, sed omnes fama atque fortunis expertes sumus. Neque cuquam nostrum licuit, more majorum, lege uti; neque, amissio patrimonio, corpus liberum habere; tanta fœvitia fœnectorum atque prætoris fuit. Sæpe majores nostri, misericordia plebis R. decretis suis inopiae ejus opitulati sunt. Ac novissime, memoria nostra, propter magnitudinem æris alieni, volentibus omnibus bonis, argentum ære solvum est. Sæpe ipsa plebes, aut dominandi studio permota, aut superbia magistratum armata, a patribus secessit. At nos non imperium neque divitias petimus; quarum rerum causa, bella atque certamina inter mortalis sunt; sed libertatem, quam nemo bonus, nisi cum anima simul, amittit. Te atque senatum*

are doing at Rome, C. Manlius sent some of his lieutenant-generals to Q. Marcius Rex, with a message to this effect. We call Gods and men to witness, noble General, that we have not taken up arms either against our country, or to bring others in danger, but only to defend our own persons from ill usage, who being reduced to a state of misery and want, by the violence and cruelty of our creditors, are most of us banished our country, but all of us stript entirely of our credit and fortunes. Nor could any of us have the usual benefit of the law for our protection, or enjoy the liberty of our persons, after the loss of our estates; such was the cruelty of our creditors, and the Prætor together. Our fore-elders frequently took pity of the commons of Rome, and by their decrees relieved their want. And lately in our own times, by reason of the great debt that multitudes were involved in, brass was made to pass in payment for silver, weight for weight. The Commons have frequently in their struggles for a share of power and authority in the government, or upon provocation from the pride of the magistrates, come to an open breach with the Senate. But we neither desire power, nor riches; for the sake of which all the wars and contentions, that happen amongst mankind, are raised. 'Tis liberty only that we request, which no brave man is willing to lose, but with his life. We therefore beg obte-

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ebtestamur, consulatis misericordiis civibus; legis praesidium, quod iniquitas praetoris eripuit, restituatis; neve nobis eam necessitudinem imponatis, ut quæramus, quoniam modo, maxime ulti sanguinem nostrum pereamus.

XXXV. Ad hæc Q. Marcius respondit: *Si quid ab senatu petere vellet, ab armis discedant, Romam supplices proficiantur. Ea misericordia atque mansuetudine senatum populumque Romanum semper fuisse, ut nemouquam ab eo frustra auxilium petiverit.* At Catilina ex itinere plerisque consularibus, præterea optumo cuique literas mittit: *Se, falsis crimibus circumventum, quoniam factioni inimicorum resistere nequiverit, fortunæ cedere, Massiliam in exsilium profici sci: Non quo sibi tanti sceleris conscientia esset, sed uti respublica quieta foret, neve ex sua contentione seditio oriretur.* Ab his longe diversas literas Q. Catulus in senatu recitavit; quas sibi nomine Catilinæ redditas dicebat. Earum exemplum infra scriptum est.

XXXVI. L. Catilina
Q. Catulo S. Egregia tua

of you and the Senate, to take the care of us your fellow-citizens under consideration, and restore us the protection of the law, which the iniquity of the Prætor took from us; and that you would not lay us under a necessity of considering how we may sell our lives at the dearest rate.

XXXV. *To this Q. Marcius made answer, If they had any thing to request of the Senate, they ought to lay down their arms, and apply with all due submission to Rome. That the Senate and people of Rome had always shewn themselves of so mild and merciful a disposition, that no one ever apply'd to them for their assistance in vain. But Catiline in his journey, sent letters to most of the Consular gentlemen in Rome, especially those of the best character amongst them, signifying, That whereas he had been on all hands persecuted with charges of a heinous nature, utterly false, and found it impossible to stand against the faction of his enemies, he submitted to his fate, and was going to Marseilles, to spend his days in banishment there; not that he was conscious to himself of the villany he was charged with, but in regard solely to the quiet of his country, and to prevent the disturbance his contesting with his enemies might occasion. But Q. Catulus read in the Senate-house, a letter quite different from all these, which, he said, was delivered him as from Catiline, a copy of which follows.*

XXXVI. L. Catilina to Q. Catulus, greeting. Your extraordinary

*fides, re cognita, grata
mibi, magnis in meis pe-
riculis, fiduciam commen-
dationi meæ tribuit.
Quamobrem defensionem
in consilio novo non statui
parare: satisfactionem ex
nulla conscientia de culpa
proponere decrevi: Quæ
medius fidius licet vera
mecum cognoscas. Injuriis
contumeliisque concitatus,
quod, fructu laboris in-
dustriæque meæ privatus,
statum dignitatis non ob-
tinebam, publicam miser-
orum caussam pro mea
conscientia suscepimus. Non
quæ alienum meis no-
minibus ex possessionibus
solvere possem; cum &
alienis nominibus liberali-
tas Aureliae Orestillæ
suis filiæque copiis per-
solveret. Sed, quod non
dignos homines honore
honestatos videbam, me-
que falsa suspicione alie-
natum esse sentiebam;
hoc nomine satis honestas
pro meo casu spes reliqua
dignitatis conservandæ
sum secutus. Plura cum
scribere vellem, nuncia-
tum est mihi vim parari.
Nunc Orestillam tibi com-
mendo, tuæque fidei tra-
do. Eam ab injuria de-
fendas, per liberos tuos
rogatus. Haveto.*

nary honour, known to me by ex-
perience, and for which I am obli-
ged to you, gives me the assurance
of recommending my cause to
you, in my present distress. And
in dependance upon your under-
taking it, I would not stand upon
my defence in the uncommon
measures taken against me, but
for the present contented myself
with the satisfaction arising from a
consciousness of my innocence,
which I do aver upon my honour
to be real. Provoked by injuries
and indignities, in being robbed of
the fruits of my labour and indu-
stry, and not suffered to keep the
honourable station that belonged
to me, I publicly undertook the
cause of poor oppressed people,
agreeably to my former way of
life. Not but that I could have
satisfied my own creditors out of
my own estate, whilst the genero-
sity of Orestilla would have done
the same for others my friends,
out of her own and her daughter's
estate. But finding worthless men
advanced to places of trust and
power in the government, and
myself set aside upon a groundless
suspicion, I have, I think, consi-
dering my circumstances, pursued
means honourable enough for the
preservation of the remainder of
dignity left me. I should have said
more to you, but word is just
brought me, that we are going to
be attack'd. I recommend to
your protection Orestilla. Suffer
her not to be ill used, I beg of
you, as you wish well to your
own children. Farewel.

BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 39

XXXVII. Sed ipse, paucos dies commoratus apud C. Flaminium in agro Reatino, dum vicinitatem antea solicitatam armis exornat, cum fas- cibus atque aliis imperii insignibus in castra ad Manlium contendit. Hæc ubi Romæ comperta sunt, senatus Catilinam & Manlium hostis judicat; cæteræ multitudini diem statuit, ante quam liceret sine fraude ab ar- mis discedere, præter re- rum capitalium condem- natis. Præterea decer- nit, uti consules delectum habeant; C. Antonius cum exercitu Catilinam persequi matureret; Cicero urbi præsidio sit. Ea tem- pestate mihi imperium populi R. multo maxime miserabile visum est; cui cum ad occasum ab ortu solis omnia domita armis parerent, domi otium atque divitiæ, quæ prima mortales putant, affluerent; fuere tamen cives qui seque remque publicam obstinati animis perditum irent. Namque, duobus senati decre- tis, ex tanta multitudine, neque præmio inductus conjurationem patefecerat, neque ex castris Ca- tilinæ quisquam omnium discesserat. Tanta vis morbi, atque uti tabes, plerosque civium animos invaserat.

XXXVII. He stay'd a few days with C. Flaminus Flamma, in the territory of Reate, 'till he could provide the neighbourhood, which had been engaged in the cause before, with arms, and then marched with the Fasces, and other ensigns of command, to Manlius's camp. When the news of this was carried to Rome, the Senate voted Catiline and Manlius enemies, and fix'd a day for the troops under their command, within which, if they laid down their arms, they were assured of a pardon, except such as had been condemned for capital crimes. They likewise ordered the Consuls to levy an army, which C. Antonius was to lead with all expedition against Catiline, whilst Cicero was to provide for the security of the city. The Roman state at that time seem'd to me to be in a most piteous condition; when, tho' all nations from the rising of the sun to the setting of the same, were reduced to their obedience, and there was at home a profound peace, and a prodigious affluence of riches, which men are apt to prefer before every thing else; yet were there a sort of people, and Romans too, who were obstinately bent upon their own ruin, with that of the commonwealth. For, notwithstanding the two votes above-mentioned, there was not one of so great a number concerned in the plot, that was prevailed upon by the reward offered, to make the least discovery, nor one deserted Catiline's camp. So strangely were their minds infected with a dispo- sition to rebellion and mischief.

XXXVIII. Neque folum illis aliena mens erat, qui consciī conjurationis fuerant ; sed omnino cuncta plebes, novarum rerum studio, Catilinæ incopta probabat. Id adeo more suo videbatur facere. Nam semper in civitate, quibus opes nullæ sunt, bonis invident, malos extollunt ; vetera odere, nova exoptant ; odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student ; turba atque seditionibus sine cura aluntur, quoniam egestas facile habetur sine damno. Sed urbana plebes ea vero præceps ierat multis de caussis. Primum omnium, qui ubique pro bro atque petulantia maxime præstabant ; item alii, per dedecora, patrimoniis amissis ; postremo omnes, quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat, hi Romam, sicuti in sentinam, confluxerant. Dein multi, memores Sullanæ victoriæ, quod ex gregariis militibus alios senatores videbant ; alios ita divites, ut regio victu atque cultu ætatem agerent ; sibi quisque, si in armis foret, ex victoria talia sperabat. Praeterea juventus, quæ in agris manuum mercede inopiam toleraverat, privatis atque publicis largitionibus excita, urba-

XXXVIII. Nor was this the case only of those that were concerned in the conspiracy ; but the whole body of the common people were desirous of a revolution in the government, and approved of Catiline's design. And herein they seemed to act only according to their usual temper and disposition. For, in all governments, the poorer sort are apt to envy the good, and extoll the bad ; hate a constitution they have been used to, and wish for a new one ; and from a dissatisfaction with their own circumstances, endeavour to have all things turn'd upside-down ; because in a time of publick disorder and confusion, they find an easy subsistence, as having, by reason of their poverty, nothing to lose. But the commonalty of Rome, especially at this time, were from several causes grown extremely corrupt. In the first place, the most profligate wretches every where, and such as had wasted their estates by scandalous extravagance ; finally, all whose villanies had forced them from their native country, flock'd to Rome, as a common sewer for the reception of all manner of filth. And then again, many reflecting upon Sulla's success, and how they had seen many raised from the degree of common soldiers to the dignity of Senators, and many so enriched, as to live like Kings all their lives after, every man, in case of a war, hoped for the like, from the success of his party. Besides, the young fellows that lived in the country by their labour, tempted to town by the

BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 41

num otium ingrato labo-
ri prætulerat. Eos atque
alios omnis malum pùb-
licum alebat. Quo mi-
nus mirandum est, ho-
mines egentis, malis mo-
ribus, maxima spe, rei-
publicæ juxta ac sibi
consuluisse. Præterea quo-
rum, victoria Sullæ, pa-
rentes proscripti, bona
erepta, jus libertatis im-
minutum erat, haud sane
alio animo belli eventum
expectabant. Ad hoc,
quicunque aliarum atque
fenati partium erant,
conturbari rempublicam,
quam minus valere ipsi,
malebant. Id adeo ma-
lum multos post annos
in civitatem reverterat.

private and publick largeesses there stirring, preferred an idle life there to hard working in the country. These, and the rest I mentioned, were subsifted by the troubles of the commonwealth; and therefore it is not to be wondered, that a pack of scrubby rascally fellows, with such a view before them, should just be as much concerned for the good of the publick, as they had been for their own before. Besides too, all those whose parents had been proscribed under the tyranny of Sulla, who had had their estates confiscated, or been disfranchised, had much the like expectations from a war, as the others had. And moreover, they who were of the party opposite to the Senate, chose rather to have the state involved in confusion, than not carry their point; a humour which had for many years laid dormant, but was now started up in the city again.

XXXIX. For after the revival of the Tribunitian authority in the Consulship of Cn. Pompey and M. Crassus, raw young gentlemen of great spirits, getting into possession of that high dignity, began by railing at the Senate, to incense the commonalty against them; and then by throwing away their money upon them, and making mighty promises of what great things they would do for them, they inflamed them still the more, and were themselves in high vogue, and carried all before them. These were opposed by the greatest part of the nobility, under pretence of promoting the power of the Senate, but in reality for their own. For, to tem

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tempora quicumque rem-publicam agitavere, honestis nominibus, alii, si-cut iura populi defenden-rent, pars, quo senati auctoritas maxuma foret, bonum publicum simu-lantes, pro sua quisque potentia certabant; ne-que illis modestia, neque modus contentionis erat: Ut trique victoriam crude-liter exercebant.

XL. Sed, postquam Cn. Pompejus ad bellum maritimum atque Mithridaticum missus est, plebis opes imminutæ, pau-corum potentia crevit. Hi magistratus, provin-cias, aliaque omnia tene-re: Ipsi innoxii, floren-tes, sine metu ætatem agere, cæterosque judiciis terrere, quo plebem in magistratu placidius trac-tarent. Sed ubi primum dubiis rebus novandis spes oblata est, vetus certamen animos eorum ar-rexit. Quod si primo prælio Catilina superior, aut æqua manu discessisset; profecto magna clades at-que calamitas rempubli-cam oppressisset: Neque illis, qui victoriam adepti forent, diutius ea uti li-cuisset; quin defessis & exsanguibus, qui plus pos-set, imperium atque li-bertatem extorqueret.

say the truth at once, all the di-sturbers of the publick at that time, under plausible pretences, some of asserting the rights and privileges of the people, others of advancing the authority of the Se-nate, pretending all to have no-thing so much at heart as the pub-lick good, did in reality stickle eve-ry one only for their own power; and that without any regard to modesty or moderation at all. And both sides, as they happened to pre-vail, made a cruel use of their vi-ctory.

XL. But when Cn. Pompey was sent to the war against the Pi-rates and Mithridates, the power of the commons begun to decline, and that of a few to rise upon it. These engrossed the publick offices of state, the provinces and all things else; liv'd in great ease, grandeur and security, and kept the rest in constant apprehensions of prosecu-tions and impeachments, in order to render the commons more tame and submissive. But as soon as any hopes of a revolution presented, the commons took heart, and begun to play the old game over again. And if Catiline in the first battle had come off conqueror, or but with e-qual advantage, the publick would have been engaged in the most ter-rible circumstances of ruin and de-solation; nor would those who got the victory, have long enjoyed it; but the most potent amongst them, would have forced from the rest weary and lifeless with the dispute, all power, and their liberty with-all. However there were several not concern'd in the conspiracy, who

Fuere

Fuere tamen extra con-jurationem complures, qui ad Catilinam initio profecti sunt. In his erat A. Fulvius, senatoris filius; quem retractum ex itine-re pater necari jussit. Iisdem temporibus Romæ Lentulus, sicuti Catilina præceperat, quoscumque moribus aut fortuna no-vis rebus idoneos crede-bat, aut per se aut per alios solicitabat; neque solum cives, sed cujus-quemodi genus homi-num, quod modo usui bello foret.

XLI. Igitur P. Um-breno cuidam negotium dat, uti legatos Allobro-gum requirat; eosque, si possit, impellat ad socie-tatem belli; existumans publice privatimque ære alieno oppresios, præte-rea quod natura gens Gallica bellicosa esset, fa-cile ad tale consilium ad-duci posse. Umbrenus, quod in Gallia negotiatus erat, plerisque principibus civitatum notus erat, at-que eos noverat. Itaque fine mora, ubi primum legatos in foro conspexit, percunctatus pauca de statu civitatis, & quasi dolens ejus casum, requiri-re cœpit, quem exitum tantis malis sperarent. Postquam illos videt queri de avaritia magistratu-m, accusare senatum,

at first went over to Catiline, a-mongst them A. Fulvius a Senator's son; who was fetch'd back again, before he could reach the camp, and put to death, by the order of his father. At the same time Len-tulus at Rome, agreeably to the in-structions of Catiline, endeavoured by himself or others, to engage in the cause all such as he looked upon to be disposed by their vices or ill circumstances for a rebellion, and not Cityzens only, but any kind of men whatever, if they could but be of any service in the war.

XLI. *Accordingly he employs one P. Umbrenus to seek out the ambassadours of the Allobroges, and perswade them, if possible, to join in the war; supposing that as the state of the Allobroges, as well as great numbers of private persons amongst them, were sadly encum-bered with debts, and as the whole nation of the Gauls was naturally warlike, they might easily be drawn into such a design. Umbrenus hav-ing followed the employment of a merchant in Gaul, was acquainted with most of the leading men there. Wherefore without more ado, as soon as he set sight on the ambassadours in the forum, he briefly en-quired how matters went at home with them. And as if he was concerned for their condition, he begun to ask them, whether they had any hopes to see an end of their misfortunes? Upon their complain-ing of the greediness of the magi-stracy of Rome, and railing at the*

*quod in eo auxiliū nihil
esset; miseriis suis reme-
dium mortem expectare:
At ego, inquit, vobis, si
modo viri esse vultis, ra-
tionem ostendam, qua tan-
ta mala ista effugiatis.
Hæc ubi dixit; Allobro-
ges, in spem maxumam
adducti, Umbrenum ora-
re, uti sui misereretur.
Nihil tam asperum, neque
tam difficile esse, quod non
cupidissime facturi essent,
dum ea res civitatem ære
alieno liberaret. Ille eos
in domum Decimi Brutii
perducit; quod foro pro-
pinqua erat, neque aliena
confilii, propter Sempro-
niā. Nam tum Brutus
ab Roma aberat. Præ-
terea Gabinium accersit,
quo major auctoritas ser-
moni ineflet. Eo præsente
conjunctionem aperit, no-
minat socios, præterea
multos cujusque generis
innoxios; quo legatis a-
nimus amplior esset: De-
in eos pollicitos operam
suam, domum dimittit.*

XLII. Sed Allobroges
diu in incerto habuere,
quidnam confilii cape-
rent. In altera parte erat
æs alienum, studium belli,
magna merces in spe vic-
toriæ. At in altera ma-
iores opes, tuta confilia,
pro incerta spe certa præ-
mia. Hæc illis volventi-
bus, tandem vicit fortu-
na reipublicæ. Itaque Q.

Senate for giving them no relief;
and saying that they expected
death must be the only cure for
their misery: But, says he, if you
will act like men, I'll shew you a
way how to get rid of all your
misfortunes. *The Allobroges hear-
ing this from him, and thereupon
conceiving mighty hopes, begged of
Umbrenus to take pity of them.
There was, they said, nothing so
harsh or so difficult, they would
not gladly do, to ease their state of
such a vast load of debt. He car-
ries them to the house of D. Bru-
tus, because it was nigh the forum,
and the family no ill-wishers to
the design, through Sempronia.
For Brutus was at that time absent
from Rome. Umbrenus sends too
for Gabinius, to give the greater
weight to what he should say. Af-
ter he came, he discovered the plot
to them, names those that were
concerned in it, and a great ma-
ny more of all ranks that were
not, to beget in the ambassadors a
better liking of the business. Up-
on promising their assistance, Um-
brenus dismissed them.*

XLII. But the Allobroges were
a long time in doubt what course
to take. On one side were their
debts, an inclination to war, and
great advantage to be hoped for
from a victory. But on the other,
greater benefit to themselves, safe
measures, certain rewards instead
of uncertain hopes. After they had
mused some time upon the matter,
at last the fortune of Rome pre-
vailed. Accordingly they discover
Fabio

BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 45

Fabio Sangæ, cuius patrocinio civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem, uti cognoverant, aperirent. Cicero, per Sangam confilio cognito, legatis præcipit, ut studium conjurationis vehementer simulent; cæteros adeant, bene polliceantur; dentque operam, ut eos quam maxime manifestos habent.

XLIII. Iisdem fere temporibus, in Gallia citeriore atque ulteriore, item in agro Piceno, Bruttio, Apulia motus erat. Namque illi, quos ante Catilina dimiserat, inconsulte, ac veluti per dementiam, cuncta simul agere: Nocturnis consiliis, armorum atque telorum portationibus, festinando, agitando omnia, plus timoris, quam periculi, effecerant. Ex eo numero compluris Q. Metellus Celer prætor, ex S C. caussa cognita, in vincula conjecterat; item in citeriore Gallia C. Muræna, qui ei provinciæ legatus præerat.

XLIV. At Romæ Lentulus cum cæteris, qui principes conjurationis erant, paratis, uti videbatur, magnis copiis, constituerat, uti, cum Catilina in agrum Fæsulanum cum exercitu venisset, L. Bestia tribunus

the whole affair, as they had heard it, to Quintus Fabius Sanga, whose patronage the state of the Allobroges much used. Cicero understanding the matter from Sanga, orders the ambassadors to pretend a huge liking and zeal for the conspiracy, to get into the company of the rest of those concerned in it, promise their utmost assistance, and endeavour to have as plain and ample proof against them as possible.

XLIII. *About the same time, there was great bustle in hither and further Gaul, as also in the country of Picene, the Bruttii, and Apulia. For those whom Catiline had dispatched thither, inconsiderately and madly acted all things at once; and by their night-assemblies, the carriage of arms up and down, and huge hurry, and hasty action, caused more of fright than danger. A great many of them the Prætor Q. Metellus Celer, as impowered by the authority of the Senate, tryed, and clapt in chains; as likewise did C. Muræna in hither Gaul, who presided as deputy-governor over that province.*

XLIV. *But at Rome, Lentulus, with the other ringleaders of the conspiracy, having provided, as they thought, a sufficient force, resolved, that, as soon as Catiline was come with his army into the country of Fæsulanæ, L. Bestia Tribune of the commons, should call the people together, and complain to the plebis*

plebis, concione habita, quereretur de actionibus Ciceronis, bellique gravissimi invidiam optumo consuli imponeret; eo signo, proxima nocte cætera multitudo coniurationis suum quisque negotium exsequeretur. Sed ea divisa hoc modo dicebantur. Statilius & Gabinius uti cum magna manu duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incenderent, quo tumultu facilior aditus ad consulem cæterosque, quibus insidiæ parabantur, fieret. Cethagus Ciceronis januam obligeret, eumque vi aggredieretur, aliis autem alium. Sed filii familiarum, quorum ex nobilitate maxima pars erat, parentes interficerent; simul, cæde & incendio perculsis omnibus, ad Catilinam erumperent. Inter hæc parata atque decreta, Cethagus semper querebatur *de ignavia sociorum*: *Illos, dubitando & dies prolatando magnas opportunitates corrumpere; facto, non consulto, in tali periculo, opus esse: Seque, si pauci adjuvarent, languentibus aliis, impetum in curiam facturum.* Natura ferox, vehemens, manu promptus erat: Maximum bonum in celeritate putabat.

of Cicero's proceedings, and lay the odium of so dangerous a war upon the best of Consuls; and that, upon this signal, the night following, the rest of the conspiracy should every one mind the proper business assigned them; which was as follows. Statilius and Gabinius, attended with a considerable body of men, were to fire the city, in twelve places the most convenient for their purpose, that in the confusion occasioned thereby, they might the more easily come at the Consuls, and others they designed to assassinate. Cethagus was to secure the entrance into Cicero's house, and fall upon him, whilst others were elsewhere employed in the like wicked designs. Then young gentlemen, the greatest part of which were of noble families, were to kill their fathers, and during the distraction of the town, from the massacre and the fire together, they were all to sally out, and march off to Catiline. In the midst of these preparations and resolves, Cethagus was continually complaining of the backwardness of the rest. That they by their hesitation and delay ruined a very hopeful cause; that in an enterprize of so much danger, there was, he said, more occasion for action than debate; and that for his part, he was ready, if a few only would but stand by him, let the rest sleep if they would, to attack the Senate. Cethagus was naturally of a daring violent spirit, and thought the success of their cause depended upon pushing it with vigour.

XLV. Sed Allobroges, ex præcepto Ciceronis, per Gabiniū cæteros convenient: ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio, item Cassio postulant jusjurandum, quod signatum ad civis perferant: aliter haud facile eos ad tantum negotium impelli posse. Cæteri nihil suspicentes dant. Cassius semet eo brevi venturum pollicetur, ac paullo ante legatos ex urbe profiscitur. Lentulus cum his T. Volturciū quendam Crotoniensem mittit, uti Allobroges, prius quam domum pergerent, cum Catilina, data atque accepta fide, societatem confirmarent. Ipse Volturcio literas ad Catilinam dat; quarum exemplum infra scriptum est.

Quis sim, ex eo, quem ad te misi, cognosces. Fac cogites, in quanta calamitate sis, & memineris, te virum esse. Consideres, quod tuæ rationes postulent. Auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis. Ad hoc, mandata verbis dat; cum ab senatu hostis judicatus sit, quo consilio servitia reputiet. In urbe parata esse, quæ jusserit. Ne cunctetur ipse propius accedere.

XLV. But the Allobroges, according to Cicero's instructions, procured by Gabinius's means, a meeting with the rest of the Conspirators, at which they insisted upon an oath from Lentulus, Cethagus, Statilius and Cassius, under their hands and seals, to carry to their masters at home, pretending it would be otherwise impossible to engage them in an affair of so great importance; which the rest, having no suspicion of their design in it, readily granted. But Cassius assured them he would be in their country very speedily, and accordingly left the Town a little before the ambassadors. Lentulus sent along with them one T. Volturcius of Croton, that they might further ratify what had been agreed on, with Catiline himself, before they went home; and gave Volturcius a letter for Catiline, a copy of which follows.

You will understand who I am that write to you, by the bearer. Consider the calamitous circumstances you are in, and remember you are a man; and consider further too what your cause requires. Seek assistance from people of all conditions, even the meanest. He moreover instructed Volturcius to ask him, since he was declared an enemy by the Senate, what he meant by refusing to accept of the assistance of slaves. That all things in town were ready according to his order; and therefore that he should not delay to advance forthwith.

XLVI. His rebus ita actis, constituta nocte qua proficiscerentur, Cicero, per legatos cuncta edoctus, L. Valerio Flacco & C. Pomtino prætoribus imperat, uti in ponte Mulvio per infidias Allobrogum comitatus deprehendant. Rem omnem aperit, cuius gratia mittebantur. Cætera, uti facto opus fit, ita agant. Homines militares, sine tumultu præfidiis collocatis, sicuti præceptum erat, occulte pontem obfidunt. Postquam ad id loci legati cum Volturcio venerunt, simul utrumque clamor exortus est. Galli, cito cognito consilio, sine mora prætoribus se tradunt. Volturcius primo, cohortatus cæteros, gladio se a multitudine defendit; dein, ubi a legatis desertus est, multa prius de salute sua Pomtinum obtestatus, quod ei notus erat; postremo timidus ac vitae diffidens, velut hostibus, sese prætoribus dedit.

XLVII. Quibus rebus confectis, omnia propere per nuncios consuli declarantur. At illum ingens cura atque lætitia simul occupavere. Lætabatur intelligens, conjuratione patefacta, civitatem periculis ereptam esse: porro autem anxius erat, in

XLVI. Upon this, the night being fix'd for the departure of the ambassadors, Cicero being informed by them of all that had passed, orders the Prætors L. Valerius Flaccus, and C. Pomtinus, to go and lie in wait for the ambassadors at the Mulvian bridge, acquainting them at the same time with the whole affair, and leaving the management to their discretion. These gentlemen having been in the military service, according to their orders, without any bustle, plant themselves with an armed force nigh the bridge, and lie snug there 'till the arrival of Volturcius with the ambassadors; upon which a shout was set up on both sides. The Gauls quickly understanding the matter, immediately surrender themselves up to the Prætors. Volturcius at first calling upon his men to stand by him, drew his sword in his defence; but being deserted by the ambassadors, he begged hard of Pomtinus, with whom he had had an acquaintance, to spare his life, and then in great fright and despair, surrendered himself to the Prætors, as if they had been enemies.

XLVII. An account of this affair was immediately carried to the Consul, who was thereupon full of concern and joy all at once. He was glad to think, that by so full a discovery of the plot, the city was now delivered from the danger it had been in; and then again, as the persons concerned in the villainy, were of the highest

max-

BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 49

maxutmo scelere tantis ci-
vibus deprehensis, quid
facto opus esset; pœnam
illorum sibi oneri, impu-
nitatem perdudæ reipu-
blicæ fore credebat. Igi-
tur, confirmato animo,
vocari ad se se jubet Len-
tulum, Cethegum, Sta-
tilium, Gabinium, item-
que Cœparium Terraci-
nensem, qui in Apuliam
ad concitanda servitia
proficiisci parabat. Cæteri
sine mora veniunt. Cœ-
parius, paullo ante domo
egressus, cognito indicio,
ex urbe profugerat. Con-
sul Lentulum, quod præ-
tor erat, ipse manu te-
nens, in senatum perdu-
cit; reliquos cum custo-
dibus in ædem Concordiæ
venire jubet. Eo sena-
tum advocat, magna que-
frequentia ejus ordinis,
Volturcius cum legatis
introducit; Flaccum præ-
torem scrinium cum lite-
ris, quas a legatis acce-
perat, eodem adferre jubet.

XLVIII. Volturcius
interrogatus de itinere, de
literis, postremo quid, aut
qua de causa, consilii ha-
buisse; primo fingere alia
omnia, dissimulare de con-
juratione; post, ubi fide
publica dicere jussus est,
omnia, uti gesta erant,
aperit, docetq; se paucis
ante diebus a Gabinio &
Cœpario socium ascitum:
Nihil amplius scire, quam

rank and quality, he was in some
doubt with him self how to proceed
against them. The punishment of
them might fall heavy upon him-
self, he thought, and to let them
pass unpunished would be ruinous
to the publick. Wherefore, taking
courage, he orders Lentulus, Ce-
thegus, Statiilius and Gabinius to
be summoned before him, as also
Cœparius of Terracina, who was
upon the point of going into Apulia,
to raise the slaves there. The rest
of them came immediately. Cœpa-
rius being gone from home a little
before the summons came, and ha-
ving some notice of the business,
had slipt out of town. The Consul
taking Lentulus by the hand, be-
cause he was Prætor, conducts him
into the Senate-house; and orders
the rest under a guard to repair to
the temple of Concord. Thither
he summons the Senate, and there
being a full house upon the occasion,
he introduces Volturcius with the
ambassadors, and orders the Præ-
tor Flaccus to bring in a box with
the letters, which he had from the
ambassadors.

XLVIII. Volturcius being que-
stioned about his journey, and the
letters, and what his design was,
or upon what account he had un-
dertaken the journey; at first made
use of some idle pretences, without
saying a word of the conspiracy.
But being assured upon the publick
faith of his pardon, if he would
declare the truth, he made a full
discovery of all; and told them
that a few days before he had been
drawn in by Gabinius and Cœpari-
G legatos;

legatos; tantummodo audire solitum ex Gabinio, P. Autronium, Ser. Sullam, L. Varguntejum, multos præterea in ea conjuratione esse. Eadem Galli fatentur. At Lentulus dissimulanten coarguunt, præter literas, sermonibus, quos ille habere solitus erat, *ex libris Sibyllinis, regnum Romæ tribus Cornelii portendi.* Cinnam atque Sullam ante, *je tertium esse, cui fatum foret urbis potiri; præterea ab incenso Capitolio illum esse vigesimum annum, quem sæpe ex prodigiis haruspices respondissent bello civili cruentum fore.* Igitur, perlectis literis, cum prius omnes signa sua cognovissent, senatus decernit, *uti, abdicato magistratu, Lentulus itemque cæteri in liberis custodiis habantur.* Itaque Lentulus P. Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum ædiliserat, Cethagus Q. Cornificio, Statilius C. Cæsari, Gabinius M. Crassio, Cœparius (nam is paullo ante ex fuga retractus erat) Cn. Terentio senatori traduntur.

XLIX. Interea plebes, conjuratione patefacta, quæ primo, cupida rerum novarum, nimis bello fa-

us to join in the conspiracy; that he knew no more than the ambassadors; he only used to hear of Gabinius, that P. Autronius, Ser. Sulla, and L. Varguntejus, with many others, were concerned in the Plot. *The Gauls confirmed what he said; and charged Lentulus, who pretended to know nothing of the matter, not only with his letters, but with some things he was used to say in conversation, as that there was a prophecy in the books of the Sibyls, that three of the Cornelian family should be masters of Rome, two of which, Cinna and Sulla, had already been so; that he was the third, for whom that honour was reserved by the fates; besides, that was the twentieth year from the burning of the Capitol, which the haruspices, from divers prodigies, had often foretold would be remarkable for a bloody civil war. Upon this the letters were read, after each of the writers had owned his seal; and the Senate voted, that Lentulus should abdicate his office, and that both he and the rest should be secured in the custody of Gentlemen.* Accordingly Lentulus is delivered up to Publius Lentulus Spinther, who was at that time Ædile, Cethagus to Quintus Cornificius, Statilius to Caius Cæsar, Gabinius to Mark Crassus, Cœparius, for he had been fetched back to town a little before, to Cn. Terentius a Senator.

XLIX. In the mean time the common people, who, upon the first discovery of the plot, from the love of novelty, had too much favoured *vebat,*

BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 51

vebat, mutata mente, Catilinæ consilia exsecrari; Ciceronem ad cœlum tollere; velut ex servitu te erepta, gaudium atque lætitiam agitabat. Namque alia belli facinora prædæ magis, quam detrimento, fore; incendium vero crudele, immoderatum, ac sibi maxume calamitosum putabat; quippe cui omnes copiæ in usu quotidiano & cultu corporis erant. Post eum diem quidam L. Tarquinius ad senatum adductus erat, quem, ad Catilinam proficiscen tem, ex itinere retrac tum ajebant. Is cum se diceret de conjuratione indicaturum, si fides publica data eslet; jussus a consule, quæ sciret, edicere, eadem fere, quæ Volturcius, de paratis incendiis, de cæde bonorum, de itinere hostium, senatum edocet. Præterea, se missum a M. Crassu, qui Catilinæ nunciaret; ne eum Lentulus & Cethegus, aliqui ex conjur atione deprehensi terrent; eoque magis pro paret ad urbem accedere, quo & ceterorum animos reficeret, & illi facilius e periculo eriperentur. Sed, ubi Tarquinius Crassum nominavit, hominem nobilem, maxumis divitiis, summa potentia;

the war, now changing their minds, begun to curse the designs of Catiline, and to extol Cicero to the heavens; and, as being now secured against the slavery they were threatened with, were full of joy and jollity. For the other acts of war they thought might turn more to their advantage than detriment; but the firing of the town they look'd upon as a cruel wild project, and what would have been pernicious to them especially, whose substance consisted entirely in cloaths, and a few household-goods. After this, one Lucius Tarquinius was brought before the Senate, who was said to be going over to Catiline, and had been therefore brought back to town. He offered to make a full discovery of the plot, if he might have the publick faith for his pardon: And being thereupon ordered by the Consul to declare what he knew, he gave much the same information Volturcius had done, as to firing of the town, the design'd massacre, and the march of the enemy. He added, that he had been dispatched by M. Crassus to tell Catiline, not to be frighted at the seizing of Lentulus, Cethegus, and others of the conspirators, but make the more haste to town, for the encouragement of the rest, and for the release of those that were prisoners. But when Tarquin named Crassus, a person of the highest quality, a vast estate, and mighty power; some looking upon what was said as incredible, and others, tho' they believed it true, yet because so powerful a man was rather to be wheedled,

alii rem incredibilem rati; pars, tametsi verum existimabat, tamen, quia in tali tempore tanta vis hominis magis leniunda, quam exagitanda, videbatur, plerique, Crassus ex negotiis privatis obnoxii, conclamant, *indicem falsum esse*; deque ea re postulant uti referatur. Itaque, Cicerone consulente, frequens senatus decernit, *Tarquinii indicium falsum videri, eumque in vinculis retinendum; neque amplius potestatem faciundam, nisi de eo indicaret, cuius consilio tantam rem esset mentitus.* Erant eo tempore, qui existimarent indicium illud a P. Autonio machinatum; quo facilius, appellato Crassus, per societatem periculi reliquos illius potentia tegeret. Alii Tarquinium a Cicerone immisum ajebant; ne Crassus, more suo, suscepito malorum patrocinio, rem publicam conturbaret. Ipsum Crassum ego postea praedicantem audivi, tantam illam contumeliam sibi ab Cicerone impositam. Sed iisdem temporibus Q. Catulus & C. Piso neque gratia, neque precibus, neque precio Ciceronem impellere quivere; uti per Allobroges aut alium indicem C. Cæsar falso no-

than provoked at such a juncture, being most of them too under particular obligations to Crassus, they all cried out the informer was a rascal, and desired the house might immediately go upon that affair. Which Cicero complying with, and moving the house accordingly, they voted by a great majority, that Tarquin's information appeared to them to be false, and that he be kept in custody, and not be enlarged, 'till he discovered the person, at whose instigation he had forged that lie. There were some at that time, who did believe that the thing was a project of Publius Autronius, in order to screen the conspirators, by naming Crassus as one. Some said Tarquin was put upon it by Cicero, lest Crassus should, according to his way, take upon him the protection of the villains, and thereby confound the proceedings of the government against them. And I myself afterwards heard Crassus say, that that base trick had been put upon him by Cicero. But at the same time Q. Catulus and C. Piso could by no interest, importunity, or money, prevail upon Cicero to have Cæsar falsely named as a conspirator, by the Allobroges, or any one else. Both those gentlemen were bitter enemies to him, Piso having been prosecuted by him in an action of damages, for the unjust punishment of a certain person of Gallia beyond the Po. Catulus bore him a grudge, ever after the time of his standing for the place of high-priest, when he, tho' a man in years, that had borne the greatest offices in the state, came mina-

mínaretur. Nam uterque cum illo gravis inimicitias exercebant; Piso, oppugnatus in judicio repetundarum, propter cuiusdam Transpadani supplicium injustum; Catulus, ex petitione pontificatus odio incensus; quod extrema ætate, maxumis honoribus usus, ab adolescentulo Cæsare victus discesserat. Res autem opportuna videbatur; quod si privatim egregia liberalitate, publice maxumis muneribus grandem pecuniam debebat. Sed ubi consulem ad tantum facinus impellere nequeunt, ipsi singillatim circumendo, atque ementiendo quæ se ex Volturcio aut Allobrogibus audisse dicent, magnam illi invidiā conflagrarent; usque adeo, uti nonnulli equites Rom. qui præsidii cauffa cum telis erant circum ædem Concordiæ, seu periculi magnitudine, seu animi nobilitate impulsi, quo studium suum in rempublicam clarius esset, egredienti ex senatu Cæsari gladio minitarentur. Dum hæc in senatu aguntur, & dum legatis Allobrogum & T. Volturcio, comprobato eorum indicio, præmia decernuntur, liberti & pauci ex clientibus Lentuli, diversis itineribus,

off baffled by Cæsar, who was at that time but a very young man. The charge seemed likely to pass, because he by his private generosity, and publick diversions, for the entertainment of the people, was got into a world of debt. But being not able to engage the Consul in such a piece of roguery, they by going about, and falsely reporting, what they pretended to have heard from Volturcius and the Allobroges, brought him under a very great odium, insomuch that some gentlemen of the Equestrian order, who were posted in arms about the temple of Concord, as a guard to the house, whether pushed on by a sense of danger, or some nobler motive, to shew their zeal for the publick, threatened Cæsar at his coming out of the house with their drawn swords. Whilst these things are done in the Senate, and rewards are voted for the Allobroges and T. Volturcius, whose information was approved of; some freed-men and clients of Lentulus dispersed themselves in town, and endeavoured to engage the workmen and slaves they met with in the streets, to rescue him. And some would gladly have prevailed with the leaders of the mob to head them, who were used for hire to give disturbance now and then to the government. But Cethagus by messengers begged of his slaves and freed-men, choice blades, and such as had been trained up in the practice of bold wicked pranks, to form themselves into a body, and break in to him with arms. The Consul being op-

opifices atque servitia in vicis ad eum eripiendum sollicitabant. Partim exquirerant duces multitudinum, qui precio rempublicam vexare soliti erant. Cethagus autem per nuncios familiam, atque libertos suos, lectos & exercitatos in audaciam, orabat; uti, grege facto, cum telis ad se irrumperent. Consul, ubi ea parari cognovit, dispositis praefidiis, uti res atque tempus monebat, convoto senatu refert, quid de his fieri placeat, qui in custodiam traditi erant. Sed eos paulo ante frequens senatus judicaverat contra rempublicam fecisse. Tum D. Junius Silanus, primus sententiam rogatus, quod eo tempore consul designatus erat, de his, qui in custodiis tenebantur, & præterea de L. Cassio, P. Furio, P. Umbreno, Q. Annio, si deprehensi forent, supplicium sumendum decreverat. Isque postea, permotus oratione C. Cæsar, pedibus in sententiam Ti. Neronis iturum se dixerat; quod de ea re, praefidiis additis, referendum censuerat. Sed Cæsar, ubi ad eum ventum est, rogatus sententiam a consule, hujuscemodi verba locutus est.

L. Omnis homines, Patres Conscripti, qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitia, ira atque misericordia vacuos esse decet. Haud facile animus verum providet, ubi illa officiunt; neque quisquam omnium lubidini simul & uui paruit. Ubi inten-

informed of these attempts, placed guards as the occasion required, and then calling the Senate together, desired to know their pleasure with relation to the prisoners, what they would have done with them. A full house had already voted them guilty of a traitorous design against the government. Then D. Junius Silanus being first asked, what he thought of the matter, for he was at that time Consul elect, declared for capital punishment to be inflicted upon those in custody, as also L. Cassius, P. Furio, P. Umbrenus, and Q. Annus, if they should be taken. But being afterwards much affected with a speech of C. Cæsar to the house, he declared for the opinion of Ti-berius Nero, who was for having the further debate of that matter deferred, 'till the house was provided with a better guard. Now Cæsar, when the Consul was come to him, and desired his sentiments, spoke to the effect following.

L. Illustrious fathers, All men in their debates upon matters of difficulty, ought to be free from the passions of hatred, love, anger, and pity. The mind of man does not easily see the truth, where those obstructions are in the way; nor has ever any man been able to consult his interest and his passion together. Where the understand-

deris

*deris ingenium, valet. Si lubido possidet, ea dominatur; animus nihil valet. Magna mihi copia est memorandi, P. C. qui reges aut qui populi, ira aut misericordia impulsi, male consuluerint. Sed ea malo dicere, quæ majores nostri, contra lubidinem animi sui, recte atque ordine fecere. Bello Mace-
donico, quod cum rege Perse gessimus, Rhodiorum civitas, magna atque magnifica, quæ populi Rom. opibus creverat, in-
fida atque aduersa nobis fuit. Sed postquam bello con-
fecto, de Rhodiis con-
sultum est, majores nostri,
ne quis divitiarum magis,
quam injuriæ caussa, bellum incep-
tum diceret, impunitos eos dimisere.
Item bellis Punicis omni-
bus, cum sæpe Carthaginenses & in pace & per
indicias multa nefanda facinora fecissent, nun-
quam ipsi per occasionem Italia fecere; magis, quod se
dignum foret, quam quod in illos jure fieri pos-
set, quærebant. Hoc item vobis providendum
est, P. C. ne plus valeat apud vos P. Lentuli &
cæterorum scelus, quam vestra dignitas; neu magis iræ vestræ, quam fa-
mæ, consulatis. Nam si digna pœna pro factis
eorum reperitur, novum*

ing is in any case duly applied, it does it's work effectually. But if passion of any kind possessesthe mind, that rules, a man's sense or parts signify nothing. I could bring many instances of kings and states, that have by anger or pity been led into pernicious mistakes. But I chuse rather to take notice to you of the behaviour of our ancestors, wherein they shew'd a noble self-denial. In the Macedonian war, which we had with king Perse, the Rhodians, a great and flourishing people, who had been raised by the support of the Romans, proved base and treacherous to us. Yet when, upon the conclusion of the war, the case of the Rhodians came under consideration, our ancestors, to leave no pretence for saying that the war had been undertaken out of a covetous humour, more than upon account of injury received, pardoned them. In all the Carthaginian wars too, tho' that people in time of peace, or cessation of arms, had been guilty of many wicked things against us, yet our ancestors never upon any occasion return'd them the like usage, regarding more what was worthy of themselves, than what might have been fairly practised against them. And in like manner ought you, gentlemen, to take care, that the wickedness of Lentulus and the rest of the conspirators, have not more influence upon you, than your own honour, and not gratify your resentment at the expence of your reputation. For if a punishment equal to their crime be

confi-

confilium approbo. Sin magnitudo sceleris omnium ingenia exsuperat; iis utendum censeo, quæ legibus comparata sunt. Plerique eorum, qui ante me sententias dixerunt, composite atque magnifice casum reipublicæ miserati sunt; quæ belli sævitia esset, quæ viciis acciderent, enumeravere; rapi virgines, pueros; divelli liberos a parentum complexu; matres familiarum pati, quæ victoribus collubrissent; fana atque domos expoliari; cædem, incendia fieri; postremo armis, cadaveribus, crurore atque luctu omnia compleri. Sed, per deos immortalis, quo illa oratio pertinuit? An, uti vos infestos conjurationi facerent? Scilicet, quem res tanta atque tam atroc non permovit, eum oratio accendet. Non ita est. Neque cuiquam mortaliūm injuriæ suæ parvæ videntur. Multi eas gravius æquo habuere. Sed alia aliis licentia est P. C. Qui demissi in obscuro vitam agunt, si quid iracundia delinquere, pauci sciunt; fama atque fortuna eorum pares sunt. Qui magno imperio prædicti, in excelso ætatem agunt, eorum facta cuncti mortales novere. Ita in maxima fortuna minima li-

possible to be found, I approve of the strange advice given. But if the greatness of their villainy be such, as to puzzle the best invention to find out a punishment equal to it, I think we ought to content ourselves with such as are provided by law. Most of the gentlemen that spoke before me, have very elegantly and nobly lamented the misfortune of the commonwealth; have enumerated all the cruel consequences of a war, and the miserable circumstances the vanquished party must needs be in; such as the ravishing of virgins, the unnatural abuse of boys, the tearing away of children from the embraces of their parents, the exposing of matrons to the lust of the conquerors, the plundering of temples and houses, slaughter, the firing of towns; and finally, the filling of all places with arms, dead bodies, blood, and lamentation. But, for heavens sake, what does all that way of talking tend to? to incense you against the conspiracy? words, I warrant, will inflame those, whom so monstrous and villainous a crime cannot move. No, no. No man is apt to under-rate the injuries done to himself. Many aggravate them beyond all reason. But all men have not the same liberty allowed them. If persons in low life, through passion, are guilty of any misconduct, few know of it. But those in great power and authority, stand high, and their actions are known to all men. Thus in the greatest fortune is there the least licence allowable. In that there

centia

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uentia est. Neque studere, neque odisse, sed minime irasci decet. Quo apud alios iracundia dicitur, ea in imperio superbia atque crudelitas appellatur. Evidem ego sic existimo, P. G. omnis cruciatus minores, quam facinora illorum, esse. Sed plerique mortales postrema meminere; & in hominibus impiis, sceleris eorum obliiti, de poena disserunt, si ea paulo severior fuerit. D. Silanum, virum fortem atque strenuum, certo scio, quæ dixerit, studio reipublicæ dixisse, neque illum in tanta re gratiam aut iniurias exercere. Eos mores eamque modestiam viri cognovi. Verum sententia ejus mibi non crudelis (quid enim in talis homines crudele fieri potest?) Sed aliena a republica nostra videtur. Nam profecto aut metus aut injuria te subegit, Silane, consulem designatum, genus poenæ novum decernere. De timore supervacaneum est disserere; cum, præsertim diligentia clarissimi viri consuli, tanta præsidia sint in armis. De poena, possumus evidem dicere id, quod res habet; in luctu atq; miseriis mortem ærumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse; eam cunc-

must be no party-prejudice, or hatred, and passion least of all. What is called anger upon other occasions, in persons invested with great power, goes by the name of pride, and cruelty. Truly gentlemen, I am of opinion, that no punishment can be thought of, bad enough for their crimes. But most men remember the upshot of things, and in the case of villains, forgetting their wickedness, talk only of their punishment, if that be a little too severe. I am well assured that the worthy brave gentleman D. Silanus said, what he did out of zeal to the publick service, without the least regard to favour, or ill-will, to any one: such is his virtue and modesty to my knowledge. But his advice appears to me, not cruel indeed (for what can be cruel against such wretches?) but not agreeable to the proceedings of our government. For certainly, Silanus, either your fear, or the injury design'd the publick, moved you to advise a punishment unknown to our laws. As to your fear, I need say nothing, especially since by the diligence of our glorious Consul, so sufficient a force has been provided for our security. And as to the punishment, we may say indeed, what is the truth in reality, that in a state of mourning and misery, death is a deliverance, not a punishment. That puts an end to all the miseries of mankind, beyond which, there is no room for either sorrow or joy. But by heaven; tell me, why did you not advise too to have them severely lashed, before they were

ta mortalium mala dissol-
vere; ultra neque curæ
neque gaudio locum esse.
Sed, per deos immortalis,
quamobrem in sententiam
non addidisti, uti prius
verberibus in eos animad-
verteretur? An, quia lex
Porcia vetat? At aliæ
leges item condemnatis ci-
vibus non animam eripi,
sed exilium permitti ju-
bent. An quia gravius est
verberari, quam necari?
Quid autem acerbum, aut
nimiris grave est in homines
tanti facinoris convictos?
Sin, quia levius est; qui
convenit in minore nego-
tio legem observare, cum
eam in majore neglexe-
ris? At enim quis repre-
hendet, quod in parrici-
das reipublicæ decretum
erit? Tempus, dies, for-
tuna, cuius lubido genti-
bus moderatur. Illis me-
rito accidet, quicquid e-
venerit. Cæterum vos,
P. C. quid in alios statu-
atis, considerate. Omnia
mala exempla ex bonis
initiis orta sunt. Sed, ubi imperium ad ignaros aut minus
bonos pervenit; novum illud exemplum ab dignis & idoneis
ad indignos & non idoneos transfertur.

LI. *Lacedæmonii, de-*
viætis Atheniensibus, tri-
ginta viros imposuere, qui
republicam tractarent.
Hi primo cœpere pessu-
mum quemque & omnibus
invisum indemnatum ne-
care. Eo populus lætari,
& merito dicere fieri.

put to death? Was it because the Porcian law expressly forbids it? But there are other laws too, that equally forbid the putting a condemned Roman to death, and allow him the favour of banishment. Or was it because whipping is a severer punishment than death? But what can be too cruel or severe against men convict of so horrid a villainy? But if it was because whipping is really a lesser punishment, is it fit to regard the law in a matter of smaller moment, whilst you slight it in a greater? But who will blame, you'll say, what shall be resolved upon against men bent upon the destruction of the commonwealth? Time and fortune, who rules the world at pleasure. They certainly deserve the worst that can befall them. But do you, worthy fathers, consider well what you resolve upon against them. All ill examples had their rise from harmless beginnings. But when power comes into the hands of ignorant or wicked men, the precedent set is transferred from deserving and proper objects to such as are not so.

LI. After the Lacedæmonians had conquered the Athenians, they lodged the government in the hands of thirty persons; who at first began to put to death, without tryal, the wickedest amongst them, and such as were universally odious. This the people rejoiced at, and said was right pro-
Pof,

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Post, ubi paullatim licentia crevit; juxta bonos & malos lubidinose interficere, ceteros metu terrire. Ita civitas, servitute oppressa, stultæ lœtitiæ gravis pœnas dedit. Nostra memoria victor Sulla, cum Damasippum & alios hujusmodi, qui malo reipublicæ creverant, jugulari jussit, quis non factum ejus laudabat? Homines scelestos & factiosos, qui seditionibus rempublicam exagaverant, merito necatos abebant. Sed ea res magna initium cladis fuit. Namque, uti quisque domum aut villam, postremo aut vas aut vestimentum alicujus concupiverat, dabat operam, uti si in proscriptorum numero esset. Ita illi, quibus Damasippi mors lœtitiæ fuerat, pauclo post ipsi trahabantur. Neque prius finis jugulandi fuit, quam Sulla omnis suos divitiis explavit. Atque ego hoc non in M. Tullio, neque his temporibus vereor. Sed in magna civitate multa & varia ingenia sunt. Potest alio tempore, alio consule, cui item exercitus in manu sit, falsum aliquid pro vero credi. Ubi hoc exemplo, per senati decretum, consul gladium eduxerit; quis illi finem statuet, aut quis moderabitur?

H 2

ceeding. But presently, as this humour grew upon them, they proceeded to put good and bad promiscuously to death at their pleasure, and fill'd the rest with apprehensions of the like usage. Thus the poor city being miserably enslaved, suffered sufficiently for their silly rejoicing. In our times too, when Sulla, after his success in the war, ordered Damasippus, and some others like him, who had raised themselves by the misfortunes of their country, to be put to death, who did not commend him for it? Every body said, that those wicked factious rascals, who had plagued the publick by their seditious practices, were deservedly put to death. But that was the first part only acted in one of the most bloody scenes that ever was. For as any of the party chanced to take a fancy for any gentleman's house in town or country, nay but any piece of plate, or fine coat, he took care to get him put upon the list of the proscribed. Thus they who rejoiced at the death of Damasippus, were themselves soon after hurried away to execution. Nor was there any end of this butchery, 'till Sulla had glutted all his followers with riches. I apprehend indeed nothing like this in Mark Tully, or these times. But in a mighty state, there are many various humours. At another time, another Consul, who shall have an army at his command, may be under a mistake, and then, when, upon this precedent, the Consul shall by a vote of the Senate draw the sword, who shall stop, or over-rule it?

LII. *Majores nostri, Patres Conscripti, neque consilii neque audaciae umquam eguere. Neque superbia obstabat, quo minus instituta aliena, si modo proba erant, imitarentur. Arma atque tela militaria ab Samnitibus, insignia magistratum ab Tuscis pleraque sumpserunt. Postremo, quod ubique apud socios aut hostis idoneum videbatur, cum summo studio domi exsequebantur. Imitari, quam invidere bonis, malebant. Sed eodem illo tempore Græciæ morem imitati, verberibus animadvertebant in civis, de condemnatis summum supplicium sumebant. Postquam respublica adolevit, & multitudine civium factiones valuerent, circumveniri innocentes, alia bujuscemodi fieri capere; tunc lex Porcia aliæque leges paratae sunt; quibus legibus exilium damnatis permisum est. Hanc ego cauissam, P.C. quo minus consilium novum capiamus, in primis magnam puto. Profecto virtus atque sapientia major in illis fuit, qui ex parvis opibus tantum imperium fecere, quam in nobis, qui bene parta vix retinemus. Placet igitur, eos dimitti, & augeri exercitum Catilinæ? Minime.*

LII. Our fore-elders, worthy fathers, never wanted either conduct or courage; nor did a spirit of pride hinder them from imitating the laudable customs of other nations. They borrowed from the Samnites arms and weapons of war, most of the ornaments of our magistrates from the Tuscans. In fine, they studiously put in practice at home whatsoever appeared, either amongst friends or foes, worthy of their reception. They chose rather to imitate, than envy the good. Now at that time, according to the usage of Greece, they used to punish by scourging, and put cityzens to death. But when the Roman state was grown up to its full magnitude, and in a numerous people factions prevailed, innocent men begun to be trepanned, and other the like wickedness to be practised; then the Porcian law, and other laws were provided, by which all such as should be condemned for capital crimes, were allowed the favour of banishment. And therefore I think this a very substantial reason against the new proceedings advised to. Certainly their conduct and wisdom, who from a small rise produced so vast an empire, was far above ours, who have much ado to keep what was so well provided to our hands. Well, you'll say, would I have them discharged, to augment Catiline's army? By no means. But my sentence is this. Let their estates be confiscated, themselves kept in close custody, in the most substantial boroughs. Let no one

Sed

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Sed ita censeo, publicandas eorum pecunias; ipsos in vinculis habendos per municipia, quæ maxime opibus valent; neu quis de his postea ad senatum, referat, neve cum populo agat. Qui aliter fecerit, rempublicam & salutem omnium facturum

LIII. Postquam Cæsar dicendi finem fecit; cæteri verbo, alias alii varie assentiebantur. At M. Porcius Cato, rogatus sententiam, hujuscemodi orationem habuit.

LIV. Longe mibi alia mens est, Patres conscripti, cum res atque pericula nostra considero, & cum sententias nonnullorum mecum ipse reputo. Illi mibi differuisse videntur de pœna eorum, qui patriæ, parentibus, aris atque focis suis bellum paravere. Res autem monet, cavere ab illis magis, quam, quid in illos statuamus, consultare. Nam cætera maleficia tum persequare, ubi facta sunt; hoc, nisi provideris, ne accidat, ubi evenit, frustra judicia implores. Capta urbe, nihil fit reliqui viætis. Sed per deos immortalis, vos ego appello, qui semper domos, villas, signa, tabulas vestras pluris, quam rempublicam, fecistis. Si ista, cujuscumque modi sint, quæ amplexamini,

ever move the Senate, or make the least application to the people in their favour: And let it be declared as the opinion of this house, that whoever does, is a traitor to his country, and an enemy to the commonwealth.

senatum existimare, eum contra

LIII. After Cæsar had made an end of his speech, the rest signified their assent, some to one and some to another. But M. Porcius Cato being asked what he thought of the matter, made a speech to the following effect.

LIV. I am, gentlemen, of a quite different opinion from you in this case, when I consider it, and the danger we are in, as also the advice that has been offered by some. The business they seem alone to have had in view, is the punishment of those who have formed a design to make war upon their country, parents, and religion. Now the nature of the thing obliges us to consider rather, how we may guard effectually against them, than how we are to punish them. For other crimes you may punish after they are committed; but unless you prevent the commission of this, it will be in vain to fly to the law for vengeance. When the city shall be taken, the conquered will have nothing left. But, by the immortal Gods, I speak to you, who have always had more regard to your fine houses, statues and pictures, than the welfare of your country. If you have a mind to keep the things, be they what they

retu-

*retinere, si voluptatibus
vestris otium præbere
vultis; expurgicimini a-
liquando, & capessite rem-
publicam. Non agitur de
vestigalibus, non de soci-
orum injuriis. Libertas
& anima nostra in dubio
est. Sæpenumero, P.C.
multa verba in hoc ordine
fecit. Sæpe de luxuria
atque avaritia nostrorum
civium questus sum. Mul-
tosque mortalis ea caussa
adversos habeo. Qui mihi
atque animo meo nullius
umquam delicti gratiam
fecisset, haud facile al-
terius lubidini malefacta
condonabam. Sed, ea ta-
met si vos parvi pendebas-
tis, tamen respublica fir-
ma erat. Opulentia
neglegentiam tolerabat.
Nunc vero non id agitur,
bonisne an malis mori-
bus vivamus; neque quan-
tum aut quam magnifi-
cum imperium populi Ro-
mani sit; sed hæc, cuju-
cumque modi videntur,
nostra, an nobiscum una
hostium futura sint.*

*LV. Hic mihi quis-
quam mansuetudinem &
misericordiam nominat?
Nampridem equidem nos
vera rerum vocabula a-
misiimus. Quia bona ali-
ena largiri, liberalitas;
malarum rerum audacia,
fortitudo vocatur; eo res-
publica in extremo sita
est. Sint sane, quoniam*

will, you are so fond of, and to find time for the pursuit of your pleasures; rouze at last, and stand up for the defence of your country. We are not now treating of the revenue of the state, or the ill usage of our allies. Our liberty, our lives are at stake. I have, gentlemen, spoke often and much in this house. I have often complained of the extravagance and avarice that prevail amongst us; and have, by so doing, made myself many enemies. Now I, who would never indulge myself in the least fault, could not easily pardon the crimes of others. But tho' you minded little what I said, yet our country was secure. Our great opulence would admit of some negligence in the management of our affairs. But a reformation of manners, or the aggrandizing the state, is not the business, we have now under consideration; but whether what we have, be it what it will, should be our own, or, together with ourselves, be delivered up a prey to the enemy.

*LV. And shall any one talk to me, in this case, of mildness and mercy? We have long since indeed lost the right names of things from amongst us. The giving of what belongs to other people, is called generosity; and the courage to venture upon wickedness, is named fortitude; by which means it is, that the state has been brought upon the very brink of destruc-
ita**

ita se mores habent, liberales ex sociorum fortunis. Sint misericordes in furibus aerarii. Ne illis sanguinem nostrum largiantur; &, dum paucis sceleratis parcunt, bonos omnis perditum eant. Bene & composite C. Cæsar paullo ante in hoc ordine de vita & morte differuit, credo falsa existimans ea, quæ de inferis membrantur; diverso itinere malos a bonis loca tætra, inculta, fæda atque formidolosa habere. Itaque censuit, pecunias eorum publicandas, ipsos per municipia in custodiis habendos; videlicet, ne, si Romæ sint, aut a popularibus coniurationis, aut a multitudine conducta, per vim eripiantur. Quasi vero mali atque sceleri tantummodo in urbe, & non per totam Italiam sint; aut non ibi plus possit audacia, ubi ad defendendum opes minores sunt. Quare vanum equidem hoc consilium est, si periculum ex illis metuit. Sin in tanto omnium metu solus non timet; eo magis refert, me mihi atque vobis timere.

LVI. *Quare cum de P. Lentulo cæterisque statuetis, pro certo habetote, vos simul de exercitu Catilinæ, & de omnibus conjuratis decerne-*

on. Let them, since it is now become the fashion of the times, be generous out of the fortunes of our allies. Let them shew compassion to the robbers of the publick; but let them not pretend to make a present of our blood to them; and by sparing a few villains, bring destruction upon all good people. C. Cæsar spoke just now very handsomely and prettily of life and death, as judging, I presume, the vulgar notions of hell, where the bad are divided from the good, and confined in nasty, uncomfortable, filthy, dismal places, to be false; and therefore advised to confiscate their estates, and keep their persons under confinement in the boroughs; from an apprehension, I suppose, if they should be kept at Rome, of their being rescued, either by their fellows, or a hired mob. As if we had rascals and villains only in town, and not all Italy over; or as if bold attempts would not be more likely to succeed, where there was the least ability to oppose them. This therefore is very idle advice, if he fears any danger from them; but if he alone is not afraid, whilst every body else is, I am the more obliged to be afraid, both for myself and you.

LVI. Wherefore, in judging the case of Lentulus, you may depend upon it, you determine that of Catiline's army, and the rest of the conspirators, at the same time. The more vigour you

re. Quanto vos attentius ea agetis, tanto illis animus infirmior erit. Si paullulum modo vos languere viderint, jam omnes feroceſ aderunt. Nolite existumare, majores nostros armis rempublicam ex parva magnam feciffe. Si ita res effet; multo pulcerrumam eam nos haberemus. Quippe sociorum atque civium, præterea armorum atque equorum major copia nobis, quam illis, est. Sed alia fuere, quæ illos magnos fecere; quæ nobis nulla junt. Domi industria, foris justum imperium; animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto neque lubidini obnoxius. Pro his nos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam; publice egestatem; privatim opulentiam. Laudamus divitias, sequimur inertiam. Inter bonos & malos discrimen nullum. Omnia virtutis præmia ambitio possidet. Neque mirum; ubi vos separatim sibi quisque consilium capitis, ubi domi voluptatibus, hic pecuniae aut gratiae servitis; eo fit, ut impetus fiat in vacuam rempublicam. Sed ego hæc omitto. Conjurare cives nobilissimi patriam incendere; Gallorum gentem, infestissimam nomini Romano, ad

act with, the more discouraged they will be. But if they see you faint-hearted, they will all forthwith advance boldly upon us. Do not think that our forefathers brought the Roman state from a low rise to its present height by their arms. If they had, we should then be in a much more happy secure condition than they. For we have more allies and people, as well as more arms and horses, than they. But they were other things which made them great, which we have nothing of. I mean industry at home, and just management abroad; minds free from the influence of vice and humour in publick councils: In the room of which, we have got luxury and avarice, publick poverty, and private wealth. We admire riches, and are in love with idleness. We make no distinction between the worthy and the worthless. Ambition is possessed of all the rewards of virtue. Nor is it to be wondered at, whilst you each of you pursue separate measures only for your own interest; whilst you mind nothing but your pleasures at home, and in this place wealth and honour. 'Tis this behaviour of yours, that has encouraged the villains to fall upon the abandoned state. But I let these things alone. Persons of the highest quality have engaged in a conspiracy to fire the city, and are endeavouring to bring the Gauls, those mortal enemies of Rome, to join them in a war against us. The commander of the enemy is at our gates with an army; and do you

bellum

BELLUM CATILINARIUM, 65

bellum arcessunt. Dux hostium cum exercitu supra caput est. Vos cunctamini etiam nunc, & dubitatis, quid, intra mœnia deprehensis hostibus, faciatis? misereamini, censeo. Deliqueret homines adolescentuli per ambitionem. Atque etiam armatos dimittatis. Næ ista vobis mansuetudo & misericordia, si illi arma ceperint, in miseriam vertet. Scilicet res ipsa aspera est, sed vos non timetis eam. Imo vero maxime; sed, inertia & molititia animi, alius alium expectantes, cunctamini; videlicet diis immortalibus confisi, qui hanc rempublicam in maximis saepe periculis servavere. Non votis, neque suppliciis mulieribus auxilia deorum parantur. Vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo prospere omnia cedunt. Ubi socordiae tete atque ignavia tradideris, ne quicquam deos implores. Irrati infestique sunt. Apud maiores nostros A. Manlius Torquatus bello Gallico filium suum, quod is contra imperium in hostem pugnaverat, necari jussit. Atque ille egregius adolescens immoderatae fortitudinis morte poenas dedit. Vos, de crudelissimis paricidis quid statuatis, cunctamini? Videlicet

pretend to demur upon the matter? or make any doubt, what you ought to do with those of the enemy you have catched within your walls? You should take pity of them, I suppose. They are only young fellows led away by the love of power, and therefore ought to be discharged. Truly that mildness and mercy, if they get but arms into their hands, will prove your destruction. The case indeed is very dismal; but you are notwithstanding, it seems, fearless about it. Far from it; but for want of spirit and vigour, you hang back, waiting one another's motions; confiding, I suppose, in the providence of the immortal Gods, who have frequently faved this state of ours in the greatest of dangers. But the assistance of the Gods is not procured by vows and womanish prayers. All designs succeed by vigilance, industry, and wise counsels. If you give yourselves up to idleness and sloth, 'tis in vain to invoke the assistance of the Gods. They are angry and enraged at you. In the days of old, Aulus Manlius Torquatus in the Gallick war, ordered his son to be put to death, for fighting contrary to his order. Thus was that excellent youth punished for his ill-governed courage. You are in doubt what to do with parricides, moved, I suppose, by the great innocence of their lives, before they engaged in this project. Yes, shew a regard to the quality of Lentulus, if ever he shewed the least to his own chastity, or credit, to either Gods or men.

I

vita

*vita cætera eorum huic
sceleri obstat. Verum par-
cite dignitati Lentuli; si
ipse pudicitiae, si famæ
suæ, si diis aut hominibus
umquam ublis pepercit.
Ignoscite Cethegi adoles-
centiae, nisi iterum jam
patriæ bellum fecit. Nam
quid ego de Gabinio, Sta-
tilio, Cœpario loquar?
Quibus si quidquam pensi
umquam fuisse, non ea
consilia de republica ha-
buiissent. Postremo, Pa-
tres Conscripti, si meher-
cle peccato locus esset, fa-
cile paterer vos ipsa re
corrigi; quoniam verba
contemnitis. Sed undique
circumventi sumus. Catil-
ina cum exercitu in fau-
cibus urget. Alii intra
mœnia atque in sinu urbis
sunt hostes. Neque parari
neque consuli quidquam
occulte potest; quo ma-
gis properandum est.
Quare ita ego censeo:
Cum nefario consilio sce-
leratorum civium respub-
lica in maxima pericula
venerit, hique indicio T.
Volturci & legatorum
Allobrogum convicti, con-
fessique sint, cædem, in-
cendia, aliaq; fœda atq;
crudelia facinora in civis
patriamq; paravisse; de
confessis, sicuti de mani-
festis rerum capitalium,
more majorum supplicium
sumendum.*

Pardon the youth of Cethegus, if this be not the second time he has made war upon his country. For what need I say any thing of Gabinius, Statilius, and Cœparius? who, if they had had but the least consideration at all, would never have engaged in such designs against the publick. Finally, fathers, if there was in this case room for misconduct, I could easily suffer you to be set right by the event, since you regard not words. But we are pushed home on all sides. Catiline with an army is just upon us. Others of the enemy are within our walls, and in the midst of the city itself. No preparations or consultations of ours can be concealed from them, and therefore we must use expedition. Wherefore my sentence is this. Since the state has been brought into the utmost danger by the villainous contrivance of some wicked members of it, and these have been sufficiently proved guilty of the same, by the evidence of T. Volturcius, and the deputies of the Allobroges, and have confessed their being concerned in a design to assassinare divers gentlemen, and fire the city, and to commit various other dismal and cruel crimes against their fellow-citizens and country, my sentence, I say, is, that they be punished according to antient usage, as being, by their own confession, manifestly guilty of crimes worthy of death,

BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 67

LVII. Postquam Cato adsedit; consulares omnes, itemque senati magna pars, sententiam ejus laudant, virtutem animi ad cœlum ferunt. Alii alios increpantes timidos vocant. Cato clarus atque magnus habetur. Senati decretum fit, sicut ille censuerat. Sed mihi, multa legenti, multa audienti, quæ populus Romanus domi militæque, mari atque terra præclara facinora fecit, forte lubuit attendere, quæ res maxime tanta negotia sustinisset. Sciebam saepenumero parva manu cum magnis legionibus hostium contendisse. Cognoveram parvis copiis bella gesta cum opulentis regibus; ad hoc, saepè fortunæ violentiam tolerasse; facundia Græcos, gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos fuisse. Ac mihi multa agitanti, constabat, paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse; eoque factum, uti divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret. Sed postquam luxu atque desidia civitas corrupta est; rursus respublica magnitudine sua imperatorum atque magistratum vitia sustentabat; ac, veluti effœta parente, multis tempestati-

LVII. After Cato sat down, all the Consular gentlemen, with the greatest part of the rest, applaud his sentence, and extol his resolution to the heavens, upbraiding and calling one another cowards, but magnifying and celebrating Cato for a hero. Accordingly a vote passed conformable to his advice. Now, as I have read and heard much of the noble achievements of the Roman people, both in peace and war, by sea and by land, I had a mind to make a strict enquiry into the true spring of all their mighty success. I was sensible, they had oftentimes with a handful of men engaged vast armies of their enemies. I was not ignorant, they had carried on wars against mighty princes with small forces; and besides, had oftentimes felt the severest strokes of ill fortune; that the Greeks were superior to them in eloquence, and the Gauls for reputation in war. Upon due consideration I found, that the prodigious bravery and conduct of a few fine men did all, and was the true cause, that poverty prevailed against riches, and small numbers against great. But after the city became debauched with luxury and idleness, still the commonwealth, by reason of it's grandeur, was able to bear up under all the vices of it's commanders and magistrates; but yet Rome, like a woman effete with the production of a numerous brood, did not, for a long time, produce so much as one man of any extraordinary character. But within the compass of my own times, we have

bus haud sane quisquam Romæ virtute magnus fuit. Sed, memoria mea, ingenti virtute, diversis moribus fuere viri duo, M. Cato & C. Cæsar; quos, quoniam res obtulerat, silentio præterire non fuit consilium; quin utriusque naturam & mores, quantum ingenio possem, aperitem. Igitur his genus, ætas, eloquentia prope æqualia fure. Magnitudo animi par, item gloria; sed alia alii. Cæsar beneficiis ac munificentia magnus habebatur; integritate vitæ Cato. Ille mansuetudine & misericordia clarus factus; huic severitas dignitatem addiderat. Cæsar dando, sublevando, ignoscendo; Cato, nihil largiendo, gloriam adeptus est. In altero miseris perfugium; in altero malis pernicies. Illius facilitas, hujus constantia, laudabatur. Postremo Cæsar in animum induxerat laborare, vigilare; negotiis amicorum intentus, sua neglegere; nihil dengare, quod dono dignum esset; sibi magnum imperium, exercitum, bellum novum exoptabat, ubi virtus enitescere posset. At Catoni studium modestiæ, decoris; sed maxime severitatis erat. Non divitiis cum divite,

had two persons of huge abilities, but quite different dispositions, M. Cato and C. Cæsar, whom I was not willing to pass lightly by, since so fair an opportunity presented of enlarging upon their characters. They were pretty much upon a par, with respect to their extraction, age, and eloquence. They had both the same greatness of soul, with an equal share of glory, but of a different kind. Cæsar was celebrated for a boundless and noble generosity, Cato for the integrity of his life. The former became famous by his mildness and mercy; his severity gave a mighty reputation to the latter. Cæsar acquired glory by the practice of generosity, compassion, and clemency; Cato by refusing to waste his substance in bribing the people. In one there was a sure refuge for the miserable; in the other certain destruction for the wicked. The easiness of the former was admired; the steady resolution of the latter. Finally, Cæsar was laborious, vigilant, intent upon all occasions of serving his friends, to the neglect of his own concerns; denied no body any thing that was worth their acceptance, and sought nothing for himself, but the command of an army, with a new war, in order to display his vast abilities to the world. Cato was a lover of moderation, decency, and, above all, strict discipline. He did not vie with the rich in riches, nor in faction with the factious, but in bravery with the brave, in modesty with the modest, and in justice with the neque

neque factio cum factioso; sed cum strenuo virtute, cum modesto pudore, cum innocentia certabat. Esse, quam videri, bonus malebat. Ita, quo minus gloriam petebat, eo magis illum adsequebatur.

LVIII. Postquam, uti dixi, senatus in Catonis sententiam discessit; consul optumum factu ratus, noctem, quæ instabat, ahtecapere, ne quid eo spatio novaretur, trium viros, quæ supplicium postulabat, parare jubet. Ipse, præfidiis dispositis, Lentulum in carcerem deducit. Idem fit cæteris per prætores. Est in carcere locus quod Tullianum appellatur, ubi paululum escenderis ad levam, circiter XII. pedes humi depresso. Eum muniunt undique parietes, atque insuper camera lapideis fornicibus vincta; sed in cultu, tenebris, odore fæda, atque terribilis ejus facies. In eum locum postquam demissus est Lentulus; vindices rerum capitalium, quibus præceptum erat, laqueogulam fregere. Ita ille patricius, ex gente clarissima Corneliorum, qui consulare imperium Romæ habuerat, dignum moribus factisque suis exitum vitæ invenit. De Cethego, Statio, Gabinio, Cœpario, eodem modo supplicium sumptum est.

LIX. Dum ea Romæ geruntur, Catilina ex omni copia, quam ipse

innocent. He chose rather to be good, than appear so; and therefore the less he sought after glory, the more it followed him.

LVIII. After the Senate, as I have said, gave in to Cato's opinion, the Consul thinking it the best way to have the sentence executed that very night, which was just at hand; for fear of any rising in the city, in case of delay, orders the Triumviri to have all things ready for the same. He himself conducts Lentulus to prison, where he placed strong guards; whilst the Prætors do the same by the rest of the conspirators. There is a place in the jail, called Tullianum, upon a small rise to the left hand, as one enters, which is sunk twelve foot within the earth, secured on all sides by strong walls, and a good arch of stone above, but a nasty, dark, stinking, dismal place. As soon as Lentulus was let down into the same, the executioners appointed for the purpose strangled him. Thus did that gentleman of a patrician family, the great family of the Cornelii, who had been Consul of Rome, come to an end suited to his manners and behaviour. Cethagus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Cœparius, were all punished in the same manner.

LIX. Whilst these things are doing at Rome, Catiline formed two legions out of the troops he addux-

adduxerat & Manlius haberat, duas legiones instituit, cohortes pro numero militum complet. Dein, uti quisque voluntarius aut ex sociis in castra venerat, æqualiter distribuerat; ac brevi spatio legiones numero hominum expleverat; cum initio non amplius duobus millibus habuisset. Sed ex omni copia circiter pars quarta erat militibus armis instructa. Cæteri, ut quemque casus armaverat, sparos aut lanceas, alii præacutas fudes portabant. Sed postquam Antonius cum exercitu adventabat, Catilina per montis iter facere; modo ad urbem, modo in Galliam versus castra moveare; hostibus occasionem pugnandi non dare. Specrabat propediem magnas copias se habiturum, si Romæ socii incepta patravissent. Interea servitia repudiabat, cuius initio ad eum magnæ copiæ concurrebant, opibus conjurationis fretus; simul alienum suis rationibus existumans, videri causam civium cum servis fugitivis communicasse. Sed postquam in castra nuncius pervenit, Romæ conjurationem patefactam, de Lentulo, & Cethego, cæterisque, quas supra memoravi, suppli-

bad brought with him, and those of Manlius together, and makes up his battalions according to the number of his men; and then as any volunteers, or those that had before engaged in the plot, came in, he disposed of them equally among his troops; and in a short time made his legions full as to number, tho' he had not at first above two thousand men. Of these, about a fourth part were compleatly armed; the rest, as it happened, had spears or lances, and some only sharp stakes. But after the approach of Anthony with his army, Catiline took to the mountains, and one while made a movement towards Rome, and then again towards Gaul; but would give the enemy no opportunity of battle. He hoped he should speedily have a vast army, if his fellows did but succeed in the execution of their designs in town. In the mean time, he refused the slaves that came in to him at first in great numbers, depending upon the strength of the conspiracy; and at the same time not thinking it consistent with his pretensions, to appear to jumble freemen and slaves together in the same interest. But after news arrived in the camp, that a full discovery had been made of the conspiracy at Rome; that Lentulus, Cethegus, and the rest mentioned above, had been all put to death, most of Catiline's men, whom the hopes of plunder, or the love of change, had tempted to the war, slip away. The rest Catiline led by great marches through craggy mountains, intatum.

BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 71

ciūm sumptum, plerique, quos ad bellum spes rapi-
narum, aut novarum re-
rum studium illexerat, di-
labuntur. Reliquos Catilina per montis asperos
magnis itineribus in a-
grum Pistoriensem abdu-
cit; eo consilio, uti per
tramites occulte profuge-
ret in Galliam Transalpi-
nam. At Q. Metellus Celer cum tribus legionibus
in agro Piceno præsidebat; ex difficultate rerum ea-
dem illa existumans, quæ
supra diximus, Catilinam agitare. Igitur, ubi iter
ejus ex perfugis cognovit, castra propere movit, ac
sub ipsis radicibus mon-
tium confedit, qua illi de-
scensus erat in Galliam properanti. Neque ta-
men Antonius longe abe-
rat; utpote qui magno exercitu locis æquioribus expeditos in fugam seque-
retur. Sed Catilina, postquam vidi montibus at-
que copiis hostium fese clausum, in urbe res adversas, neque fugæ neque præsidii ul-
lam spem, optumum factu ratus in tali re fortunam belli ten-
tare, statuit cum Antonio quam primum configere. Itaque,
concionata advoca, hujuscemodi orationem habuit.

LX. *Compertum ego
habeo, milites, verba vi-
ris virtutem non addere;
neque ex ignavostrenum,
neque fortem ex timido
exercitum oratione impe-
ratoris fieri. Quanta cu-
jusque animo audacia na-
tura aut moribus ineſt,*

the neighbourhood of Pistorium, in order to make his way privately through some narrow defiles into Transalpine Gaul. But Q. Metellus Celer was posted with three legions in the territory of Picene, who guessed by the straits Catiline was in, he had such a design, as has been mentioned, in view. Wherefore being informed by some deserters from him, of the rout he had taken, he immediately march'd away, and encamped at the bottom of the mountains, where he was to pass into Gaul. Nor was Anthony far off, who pursued the enemy flying with little or no baggage, with a good army, along the low country. But Catiline finding himself inclosed by the mountains, and the enemy's troops together, that all went wrong in the city, and that there was no hopes either of flight or defence within walls, thinking it the best way in such a case, to try the fortune of a battle, he resolved to engage Anthony as soon as possible. Wherefore calling his army together, he made them a speech to the following purpose.

LX. I am very sensible, gentlemen, that words cannot inspire courage, and that an army of lubbers will never become vigorous and active, or of cowards brave, by any thing a general can say to them. Just as much courage as nature or use has given a man, will he shew in time of bat-
tanta

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tanta in bello patere solet. Quem neque gloria neque pericula excitare, nequicquam bortere. Timor animi auribus officit. Sed ego vos, quo pauca monerem, advocavi; simul uti causam consilii mei aperirem. Scitis equidem, milites, socordia atque ignavia Lentuli, quantam ipsi nobisque cladem adulterit; quoque modo, dum ex urbe praefidia opperior, in Galliam profici sci nequiviverim. Nunc vero, quo in loco res nostræ sint, juxta mecum omnes intellegitis.

LXI. Exercitus hostium duo, unus ab urbe, alter a Gallia obstant. Diutius in his locis esse, si maxime animus ferat, frumenti atque aliarum rerum egestas prohibet. Quocumque ire placet, ferro iter aperiendum est. Quapropter vos moneo, uti forti atque parato animo sitis; & cum prælium inibitis, memineritis, vos divitias, decus, gloriam, præterea libertatem, atque patriam, in dextris vestris portare. Si vincimus, omnia nobis tuta erunt; commeatus abunde, municipia atque coloniae patebunt. Sin metu cesserimus, eadem illa aduersa fient; neque locus neque amicus quisquam teget, quem arma non

tle. 'Tis in vain to encourage one, whom neither glory nor danger can work upon; his fear prevents all attention to what you say. I have therefore called you together, only to give you a little advice, and acquaint you with the reason of my proceedings. You know full well, gentlemen, what mischief the dullness and inactivity of Lentulus has brought upon himself and us all; and how, whilst I wait here for reinforcements from town, I have been prevented from getting into Gaul. Now you are all as sensible as I myself, of the state of our affairs.

LXI. We have two armies upon us, one from Rome, and another from Gaul. The want of corn, and other necessaries, will not allow of our continuance here, tho' we never so much desired it. And whithersoever we think of marching, we must make our way with the sword. Wherefore be bold and resolute, and when you engage, consider that you carry riches, honour, glory, liberty, and your country, in your right hands. If we conquer, all will be safe; we shall have plenty of provisions, and the boroughs and colonies all at our devotion. But if we flinch through fear, our case will be the reverse. No place or friend will be able to secure him, whom arms could not. Besides, gentlemen, there is not the same necessity incumbent upon us and them. We fight for our country, liberty, and lives; they to ad-

tex-

texerint. Præterea, milites, non eadem nobis & illis necessitudo impendet. Nos pro patria, pro libertate, pro vita certamus. Illis supervacaneum est pro potentia paucorum pugnare; quo audacius aggredimini, memores priuiae virtutis. Licuit vobis cum summa turpitudine in exilio æstatem agere. Potuistis nonnulli Romæ, amissis bonis, alienas opes expectare. Quia illa fœda atque intoleranda viris videbantur, hæc sequi decrevisis. Si hæc relinquere vultis, audacia opus est. Nemo, nisi victor, pace bellum mutavit. Nam in fuga salutem sperare, cum arma, quis corpus tegitur, ab hostibus averteris, ea vero dementia est. Semper in prælio iis maximum est periculum, qui maxime timent. Audacia pro muro habetur. Cum vos considero, milites, & cum facta vestra astumo, magna me spes victoriae tenet. Animus, etas, virtus vestra me hortantur; præterea necessitudo, quæ etiam timidos fortis facit. Nam, multitudo hostium ne circumvenire queat, prohibent angustiar loci. Quod si virtuti vestre fortuna incederit, cavete, ne inulti animam amittatis; neve capti potius, sicuti pecora, trucidemini, quam virorum more pugnantes, cruentam atque luctuosam victoriam hostibus relinquatis.

vance the power of a few, which they have no need to do; which should encourage you to fall on bravely, mindful of your former courage. We might have lived in banishment, but with the utmost disgrace. Some of you too might have lived at Rome in a starving condition, and a state of dependence. But because those things appeared dishonourable and intolerable to brave men, you resolved upon the part you now act. And if you desire to get out of your present ill circumstances, courage is the only way to it. None but conquerors ever change war for peace. For to expect security in flight, when the arms that should secure a man, are turned from the enemy, is madness. The most timorous are always in the most danger in time of battle. Valour is a wall of defence. When I consider you, and your gallant behaviour, gentlemen, I am in great hopes of victory. Your spirit, youth, and courage, give me heart; as also the necessity you are under, which makes cowards brave. For the narrowness of the place we are to engage in, secures us against being surrounded by the enemy's numbers. But if fortune envy your bravery, be sure you fall not unrevenged. Suffer not yourselves to be taken and slaughtered like cattle; but fight like men rather, and leave the enemy a bloody, and a sorrowful victory.

LXII. Hæc ubi dixit, paullulum commoratus signa canere jubet; atque instructos ordines in locum æquum deducit. Dein, remotis omnium equis, quo militibus, ex æquato periculo, animus amplior esset, ipse pedes exercitum pro loco atque copiis instruit. Nam, uti planities erat inter finiflos montis, & ab dextra rupes aspera, octo cohortis in fronte constituit; reliqua signa in subsidiis arctius collocat. Ab his centuriones omnis, & evocatos, præterea ex gregariis militibus optimum quemque armatum in primam aciem subducit. C. Manlium in dextra, Fæsulanum quendam in finiftra parte curare jubet. Ipse cum libertis & colonis propter aquilam adiicit, quam bello Cimbrico C. Marius in exercitu habuisse dicebatur. At ex altera parte C. Antonius, pedibus æger, quod prælio adesse nequibat, M. Petrejo legato exercitum permittit. Ille cohortis veteranas, quas tumulti causia conscriperat, in fronte; post eas, cæterum exercitum in subsidiis locat. Ipse, equo circumiens, unumquemque nominans, appellat, hortatur, rogat, uti meminerint se.

LXII. Soon after the delivery of this speech, he commanded the signal to be given for battle, and draws down his troops in proper order upon a ground commodious for him; and then having ordered all the horses away, to put the more resolution into his men, by making the danger of all alike, he being himself on foot, marshals his army, as the nature of the place, and his number of men required. For as the plain had on the left a mountain, and on the right a craggy rock, he drew up eight battalions in front, and the rest he placed close in the rear, to relieve them upon occasion. But he culled from amongst them all the choicest centurions, and other old soldiers, even common soldiers too, and posted them in the foremost rank. He appoints C. Manlius to command on the right, and an officer of Fæsulae in the left. He with his freed-men, and some of Sulla's old soldiers, that had settled in those parts, took up his stand by the eagle, which, it was said, C. Marius had had in his army in the Cimbrick war. On the other side, C. Antonius being rendered by a fit of the gout, incapable to command himself upon this occasion, commissioned his lieutenant-general M. Petreius to supply his place. Accordingly he posts the old battalions, which he had drawn together upon account of this rebellion, in the front, and behind them the rest of the army, to reinforce them, if need required. He riding about, and calling upon his men, here and there by name, animates

BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 75

contra latrones inermis, pro patria, pro liberis, pro aris atque focis suis certare. Homo militaris, quod amplius annos 30. tribunus aut præfectus, aut legatus, aut prætor, cum magna gloria in exercitu fuerat, plerisque ipsos, factaque eorum fortia noverat, ea commemorando, militum animos accendebat.

mates, encourages, and begs of them, to consider, that they were now to fight against a parcel of unarmed robbers, for their country, their children, and their all. *And as he had led the life of a soldier, having been employ'd in the military service with great reputation, for above thirty years together, as tribune, commander of horse, lieutenant-general, or prætor, he was acquainted with most of the soldiers, and the brave actions they had performed, by taking notice of which, he very much raised their courage.*

LXIII. Sed ubi, omnibus rebus exploratis, Petrejus tuba signum dat, cohortis paullatim incedere jubet. Idem fecit hostium exercitus. Postquam eo ventum est, unde a fermentariis prælium committi posset; maximo clamore infestis signis concurrunt; pila omitunt; gladiis res geritur. Veterani pristinæ virtutis memores, cominus acriter instare; illi haud timidi resistunt. Maxima vi certatur. Interea Catilina cum expeditis in prima acie versari; laborantibus succurrere; integras pro fauciis accersere; omnia providere; multum ipse pugnare, saepe hostem ferire. Streui militis & boni imperatoris officia simul exsequebatur. Petrejus, ubi videt Catilinam; contra-

LXIII. After a thorough inspection into the disposition of his troops, Petreius orders the signal to be sounded, and the battalions to advance slowly, whilst the enemy's army does the same. After they came near enough for the light-armed soldiers to begin the fight, both sides fall to work with a very great shout, sword in hand, without making use of their short lances. The veterans, mindful of their former bravery, engage the enemy in close fight with great fury; whilst they make as gallant a resistance, so that a very desperate battle ensued. In which Catiline with a detached party, moved about in the first line, relieving the distressed, bringing up fresh men to supply the place of the wounded, and providing for all exigencies; fighting himself too in person very often, and performing at once all the duties of a stout soldier, and a good commander. Petreius finding Catiline, contrary to his expectations, stand to it

ac ratus erat, magna vi tendere, cohortem prætoriam in medios hostis inducit; eosque perturbatos, atque alios alibi resistentis interficit. Deinde utrumque ex lateribus cæteros aggreditur. Manlius & Fæsulanus in primis pugnantes cadunt. Postquam fusas copias, sequum paucis relictum videt Catilina, memnor generis atque pristinæ dignitatis suæ, in confertissimos hostis incurrit, ibique pugnans confoditur.

LXIV. Sed, confecto prælio, tum vero cerneres, quanta audacia, quantaque animi vis fuisse in exercitu Catilinæ. Nam fere, quem quisque vivus pugnando locum cuperat, eum, amissa anima, corpore tegebatur. Pauci autem, quos medios cohors præatoria disjecerat, paullo diversius, sed omnes tamen adversis vulneribus, conciderant. Catilina vero longe a suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est, paullulum etiam spirans, ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivus, in vultu retinens. Postremo, ex omni copia, neque in prælio, neque in fuga, quisquam civis ingenuus captus est. Ita cuncti suæ hostiumque vitæ juxta pepercerant. Neque tamen exercitus populi Ro-

with great obstinacy, brings up the general's own select battalion upon their main body, by which he broke them; and tho' they rallied again, and faced about upon him here and there, yet he made vast slaughter of them. After which he attacks the rest in each flank. Manlius and the Fæsulan were amongst the first that fell. Catiline seeing his forces routed, and himself left with a small party that stood by him, reflecting upon his family, and former dignity, rushed in amongst the thickest of the enemy, and was there slain, fighting to the last.

LXIV. After the battle was ended, you might have seen ample tokens of the desperate courage and spirit in the army of Catiline. They were generally found slain upon the very spot they were posted in at the beginning of the action. Some few only of the main body, which had been broke by the general's guard, fell scattered here and there at a little distance, but all with wounds before. But Catiline himself was found at a great distance from the rest, amidst great heaps of the slaughtered enemy, not quite dead, and retaining in his looks his wonted fierceness. Finally, out of all that number, not so much as one man above the quality of a slave, was taken, either in the battle, or in the flight; that they seemed to have spared their own lives, as little as those of the enemy. Nor had the army of the republick much reason to rejoice in their victory, as being a very bloody one. For the bravest man

BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 77

mani lætam aut incruentam victoriam adeptus erat. Nam strenuissimus quisque aut occiderat in prælio, aut graviter vulneratus discesserat. Multi autem, qui e castris vi-fundi, aut spoliandi gratia processerant, volventes hostilia cadavera, amicum alii, pars hospitem aut cognatum reperiebant. Fuere item, qui inimicos suos cognoscerent. Ita varie per omnem exercitum lætitia, mœror, luctus, atque gaudia agitabantur.

among them were all, either slain, or desperately wounded. Many that came out of the camp to view the field of battle, or plunder the slain, in tumbling over the dead bodies, some found a friend, others a relation; and some too light upon their enemies. So that there was throughout the whole army, a strange mixture of mirth and sorrow, mourning and joy.



C. CRIS.



C. CRISPI SALLUSTII
JUGURTHA:
SIVE
Bellum Jugurthinum.

F ALSO queritur de natura sua genus humanum, quod imbecille atque ævi brevis, forte potius, quam virtute, regatur. Nam contra reputando, neque majus aliud, neque præstabilius invenias; magisque naturæ industriam, hominum, quam vim aut tempus, deesse. Seddux atque imperator vitæ mortalium animus est; qui, ubi ad gloriam virtutis via gravatatur, abunde pollens, potensque, & clarus est, neque fortuna eget; quippe quæ probitatem, industriam, aliasque artis bonas neque dare, neque eripere cuiquam potest. Sin captus pravis cupidinibus, ad inertiam & voluptates corporis pessum datus est, perniciosa lubidine paullisper u-

M An kind complain of their nature without cause, as infirm and short-lived, and more under the direction of chance than virtue. But upon considering the human frame in a different view, you will find nothing in the world more great and excellent; and that men want industry more than abilities, or time. Now the soul is the leader and commander in the life of man, which, whilst it pursues glory in the way of virtue, is abundantly vigorous, able, and glorious, and stands in no need of fortune's help; as who can neither give nor take away from any one probity, industry, or other good qualities. But if the mind, captivated by wicked lusts, sinks into idleness and pleasure, after it has for a while indulged its humour, to the ruin of it's own vigour, and that of the body, besides loss of time, the weakness of human nature is blamed for it; as people of ill conduct sus.

BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 79

sus, ubi per socordiam vires, tempus, ingenium diffluxere, naturæ infirmitas accusatur. Suam quippe culpam actores ad negotia transferunt. Quod si hominibus bonarum rerum tanta cura esset, quanto studio aliena ac nihil profutura, multum etiam periculosa, petunt; neque regerentur magis quam regerent casus; & eo magnitudinis procederent, ubi pro mortalibus gloria æterni fierent.

II. Nam ut genus hominum compositum ex corpore & anima est; ita res cunctæ, studiaque omnia nostra, corporis alia, alia animæ naturam sequuntur. Igitur præclara facies, magnæ divitiae, ad hoc, vis corporis, & alia omnia hujuscemodi brevi dilabuntur. At ingenii egregia facinora, sicuti anima, immortalia sunt. Postremo, corporis & fortunæ bonorum, uti initium, sic finis est, omniaque orta occidunt & aucta senescunt. Animus, incorruptus, æternus, rex totius generis, agit atque habet cuncta, neque ipse habetur. Quo magis pravitas eorum admiranda est, qui, dediti corporis gaudiis, per luxum atque ignaviam ætatem agunt; cæterum, ingenium, quo neque melius, neque amplius aliud in-

are apt to transfer all blame from themselves upon the circumstances of affairs they are engaged in. Now if men were but as much concerned for things truly good, as they are for what are otherwise, and can avail them nothing, nay are really very dangerous, they would not be so much governed by chance, as over-rule it; and arrive at that grandeur, as instead of being mortal, to live for ever in the records of fame.

II. For as man is made up of two parts, body and soul; so all our concerns and pursuits have a near affinity with the nature of the one, or the other. Thus beauty, riches, and strength, with other things of the like kind, are soon gone; but the noble productions of the mind, are like the mind itself, immortal. Finally, the goods of the body and fortune, as they have a beginning, so have they likewise an end; and all things that rise, set; and such as grow, grow old too. But the soul suffers no decay, is eternal, the guide of man, acts and possesses all things; but is itself out of the power of every thing else. How wonderful is their weakness then, who give themselves up to sensual enjoyments, and spend their lives in luxury and idleness; but suffer their minds, the best and the greatest thing in human nature, to ly fallow, without any cultivation or care at all of it? especially, when there are so many, and such various ways of employ-

natura mortalium est, in cultu atque socordia torpescere finunt; cum præsertim tam multæ variæque sint artes animi, quibus summa claritudo paratur.

III. Verum ex his magistratus & imperia, postremo omnis cura rerum publicarum, minume mihi hac tempestate cupienda videntur. Quoniam neque virtuti honos datur; neque illi, quibus per fraudem jus fuit, tuti, aut eo magis honesti sunt. Nam, vi quidem regere patriam aut parentes, quamquam & possis, & delicta corrigas; tamen importunum est; cum præsertim omnes rerum mutationes cædem, fugam, alia hostilia portendant. Frustra autem niti, neque aliud, se fatigando, nisi odium querere, extremæ dementiæ est; nisi forte quem inhonestæ & perniciosa lubido tenet, potentiae paucorum decus atque libertatem suam gratificari.

IV. Cæterum ex iis negotiis, quæ ingenio exercentur, in primis magno usui est memoria rerum gestarum. Cujus de virtute quia multi dixeré, prætereundum puto; simul, ne per insolentiam quis existumet memet studium meum laudando extollere. Atque ego credo fore, qui, quia decrevi.

ing the mind, whereby a man may render his name immortal.

III. *But of these several ways, offices civil and military, in short, all publick places of trust and power whatever, seem at this time not at all desirable; when virtue has no regard paid it; and those who by base arts obtain them, are not therefore more secure or honourable at all. For to govern your country or parents in the way of violence, tho' you have it in your power, and may perhaps rectify some things that are amiss in them, is however very vexatious; especially since all revolutions are sure to be attended with the murder and banishment of great numbers, and other calamities of war. Now for a man to take a world of pains to no purpose, and to get nothing by all his fatigue, but to be hated by the world, is meer madness, and what none would be guilty of sure, but those of a humour base and pernicious enough, to sacrifice their honour and liberty both to the power of a few.*

IV. *But of all the ways of employing a man's parts, that of writing history seems to be of singular use. But this is so beaten a subject, that I shall say nothing of it; and the rather, lest any one should think I magnified my own employment, out of vanity only. And as I have determined to decline all preferment in the state, I doubt there will be some ready to give the name of idleness to the useful procul*

BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 81

procul a republica ætatem agere, tanto tamque utili labori meo nomen inertiae imponant; certe, quibus maxima industria videtur, salutare plebem & conviviis gratiam quærere. Qui si reputaverint, & quibus ego temporibus magistratum adeptus sim; & quales viri idem adseQui nequiverint; & postea, quæ genera hominum in senatum pervenerint; profecto existimabunt, me magis merito, quam ignavia, judicium animi mei mutavisse; majusque commodum ex otio meo, quam ex aliorum negotiis, reipublicæ venturum. Nam sæpe audivi, Q. Maximum, P. Scipionem, præterea civitatis nostræ præclaros viros solitos ita dicere, *Cum majorum imagines intuerentur, vehementer sume sibi animum ad virtutem accendi.* Scilicet, non ceram illam, neque figuram, tantam vim in se habere; sed memoria rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectora crescere; neque prius sedari, quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adæquaverit. At contra, quis est omnium, his moribus, quin divitiis & sumptibus, non probitate, neque industria, cum majoribus suis contendat?

way of life I have chosen; such I mean, who think the greatest industry is shewn in complementing and treating the mob. Who if they would but consider, in what times I was preferred in the government, and what considerable men miscarried in their endeavours to that purpose, and what sort of men have since got into the Senate, they will certainly think, that I altered my mind upon very good reason, and not from a love of idleness; and that the publick will receive greater advantages from my declining of business, than from others engaging therein. For I have often heard, that Q. Maximus, Publius Scipio, and other persons of great figure in the government, used to say, that when they look'd upon the images of their ancestors, their minds were fired to the last degree with an emulation of their noble behaviour. Now to be sure the wax, or it's figure, had no such efficacy in it; but it was the reflection upon their great actions, which rais'd that flame in the breasts of those excellent men, and gave them no quiet, 'till they arrived at the same height of reputation and glory with their ancestors. But what person have we, as the times now go, that is not much more concerned to outstrip his forefathers in riches and prodigality, than probity and industry. Nay, gentlemen of low rank, who before used by their good qualities to raise themselves above the nobles, now endeavour to get into places of power and trust, by under-hand

Etiam
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Etiam homines novi, qui antea per virtutem soliti erant nobilitatem antevenire, furtim & per latrocinia potius, quam bonis artibus, ad imperia & honores nituntur. Proinde quasi prætura & consulatus, atque alia omnia hujuscemodi per se ipsa clara & magnifica sint, ac non perinde habeantur, ut eorum, qui ea sustinent, virtus est. Verum ego liberius altiusque processi, dum me civitatis morum piget tædetque. Nunc ad incepsum redeo.

V. Bellum scripturus sum, quod populus Romanus cum Jugurtha rege Numidarum gessit ; primum, quia magnum & atrox, variaque Victoria fuit ; dein, quia tum primum superbiæ nobilitatis obviam itum est ; quæ contentio divina & humana cuncta permiscuit ; eoque recordiæ processit, uti studiis civilibus bellum atque vastitas Italiæ finem facerent. Sed prius, quam hujuscemodi rei initium expedio, pauca supra rēpetam ; quo, ad cognoscendum, omnia illustria magis, magisque in aperto fint. Bello Punico secundo, quo dux Carthaginensium Hannibal, post magnitudinem nominis Romani, Italiæ opes maxume attriverat, Mafinissa rex Numidarum, in amicitiam receptus a P. Scipione, cui

tricks, and rogueries, more than laudable accomplishments. As if the Praetorship, Consulship, and other the like offices, were in themselves glorious and honourable, and not rendered such only by the good behaviour of those that enjoy them. But I have run out too freely and too far upon this subject, out of pure indignation against the corruption of the times. Now I return to my purpose.

V. Which is to write the history of the war the Roman people had with Jugurtha, King of the Numidians ; first, because it was a great and a terrible one, full of various turns of fortune ; and secondly too, because then was the first stand made against the insolence of the nobility ; which dispute confounded all things, both divine and human ; and was carried to that height of madness, that nothing but a war, and the desolation of Italy, could put an end to it. But before I enter upon this subject, I must run back a little, in order to set the whole in a proper light. In the second Punic war, wherein Hannibal, general of the Carthaginians, gave the greatest shock of all others to the Roman grandeur, by a terrible devastation of Italy, Mafinissa, King of the Numidians, being received into the Roman alliance, by P. Scipio afterwards surnamed Africanus, upon account of his putting a happy conclusion to that war, had distinguished himself by Postea

postea Africano cognomen ex virtute fuit, multa & præclara rei militaris facinora fecerat. Ob quæ, victis Carthaginensibus, & capto Syphace, cuius in Africa magnum atque late imperium valuit, populus Romanus quascumque urbis & agros manu ceperat, regi dono dedit. Igitur amicitia Masinissæ bona atque honesta nobis permanxit. Sed imperii vitæque ejus finis idem fuit. Dein Micipsa filius regnum solus obtinuit, Manastabale & Gulussa fratribus morbo absumptis. Is Atherbalem & Hiempalem ex se genuit; Jugurtha filium Manastabalum fratri, quem Masinissa, quod ortus ex concubina erat, privatum reliquerat, eodem cultu, quo liberos suos, domi habuit.

VI. Qui, ubi primum adolevit, pollens viribus, decora facie, sed multo maxime ingenio validus, non se luxu neque inertiae corrumpendum dedit; sed, uti mos gentis illius est, equitare, jaculari, cursu cum æqualibus certare; &, cum omnis gloria anteiret, omnibus tam carus esse. Ad hoc, pleraque tempora in venando agere; leonem atque alias feras primus aut in primis ferire; pluri-

many brave and gallant actions: in consideration of which, after the Carthaginians were conquered, and Syphax taken, who was master of a great and powerful kingdom in Africa, the Roman people made a present of all the cities and territory they had taken, to King Masinissa; for which bounty he was ever after a fast and faithful ally to us, continuing in the enjoyment of his dominions 'till his death. After which, they fell into the hands of his son Micipsa, his two brothers Mastanabal and Gulussa having died some time before. He had two sons Atherbal and Hiempsal; but nevertheless educated in his own court, and in the same manner as his own sons, Jugurtha the son of his brother Manastabal, whom, as being begot of a concubine, Masinissa had left in the condition of a private person.

VI. This youth, when he came to man's estate, being conspicuous for strength of body, handsomeness of person, and great parts, did not give himself up to luxury and idleness; but, according to the fashion of his country, exercised himself in riding, throwing the lance, and racing. In which exercises, tho' he was much superior to all his fellows, yet he was nevertheless exceedingly and universally beloved by them. Besides, he spent most of his time in hunting. He was sure to be the first, or amongst the foremost, in the encountering of

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mum facere, & minum ipse de se loqui. Quibus rebus Micipsa, tametsi initio laetus fuerat, existumans virtutem Jugurthæ regno suo gloriæ fore, tamen, postquam hominem adolescentem, exacta ætate sua, & parvis liberis, magis magisque crescere intellegit, vehementer eo negotio permotus, multa cum animo suo volvebat. Terrebat eum natura mortallum, avida imperii, & præceps ad explendam animi cupidinem; præterea, opportunitas suæ liberorumque ætatis, quæ etiam mediocris viros spe prædæ transversos agit; ad hoc, studia Numidarum in Jugurtham accensa; ex quibus, si tales virum dolis interfecisset, ne qua seditio aut bellum oriretur, anxius erat.

VII. His difficultatibus circumventus, ubi videt, neque per vim, neque insidiis, opprimi posse hominem tam acceptum popularibus; quod erat Jugurtha manu promptus, & appetens gloriæ militaris, statuit eum objectare periculis, & eo modo fortunam tentare. Igitur bello Numantino Micipsa, cum populo Romano equitum atque peditum auxilia mitteret, sperans vel ostentando

lions, and other wild beasts; and tho' he did the most, yet he said the least of himself. With which things, tho' Micipsa was at first well pleased, as looking upon the gallant behaviour of Jugurtha as redounding to the honour of his kingdom; yet finding the young man grow more and more in fame, his days being now near an end, and his children but small, he was very much affected, and full of perplexity about him. The nature of man greedy of power, and disposed at any rate to gratify that passion, alarmed him; but especially the opportunity which his own age, and that of his children, gave him; a temptation that is apt to lead men, otherwise not ambitious, astray. But what terrified him most of all, was, the vast fondness the Numidians had for Jugurtha, insomuch that he feared, if he made him away privately, it might occasion a general mutiny, if not a war.

VII. Perplexed with these difficulties, and finding it impracticable to take him off, either by open force, or secret contrivance, considering how popular he was, he resolved to try how favourable fortune might prove to him in another way, that is, by exposing him to dangers. For he was active in fight, and vastly fond of military glory. Wherefore Micipsa being to send some troops of both horse and foot, to the assistance of the Roman people in the war against Numantia, hoping that his desire of distinction, or virtu-

virtutem, vel hostium
sævitia facile eum occa-
furum, præfecit Numidis
quos in Hispaniam mit-
tebat. Sed ea res lon-
ge aliter, ac ratus erat,
evenit. Nam Jugurtha,
ut erat impigro atque a-
cri ingenio, ubi naturam
P. Scipionis, qui tum
Romanis imperator erat,
& morem hostium cog-
novit, multo labore, mul-
taque cura, præterea mo-
destissime parendo, & sæ-
pe obviam eundo pericu-
lis, in tantam claritudi-
nem brevi pervenerat, uti
nostris vehementer carus,
Numantinis maximo
terrori esset. Ac sane,
quod difficultatum in
primis est, & prælio stren-
uus erat, & bonus con-
filio. Quorum alterum
ex providentia timorem,
alterum ex audacia teme-
ritatem adferre plerum-
que solet. Igitur impera-
tor omnis fere res asperas
per Jugurtham agere, in
amicis habere, magis ma-
gisque eum indies am-
plicti; quippe cuius ne-
que consilium, neque in-
cœptum ullum frustra erat. Huc accedebat munificentia
animi & ingenii sollertia.
Quibus rebus fibi multos ex Ro-
manis familiari amicitia conjunxerat.

VIII. Ea tempestate
in exercitu nostro fuere
complures novi atque
nobiles, quibus divitiae
bono honestoque potiores
erant, factiosi, domi po-

the fury of the enemy might prove fatal to him, he made him commander of the forces he sent into Spain. But that matter ended quite otherwise than he expected. For Jugurtha, as he was of an active enterprising genius, upon observing the nature of P. Scipio, and the enemy's way of managing, did, by the utmost pains and diligence in action, as also by a most submissive obedience to all orders, and frequently exposing his person to dangers, in a little time become so very famous, that he was exceedingly beloved by our men, and was very terrible to the Numantines. And what is very difficult indeed, he was brave in action, and wise in council. One of which qualities, from a foresight of danger, is apt to cause fear, and the other rashness. Accordingly the general executed all desperate projects by the means of Jugurtha, received him into the number of his friends, and grew every day more fond of him, as a man whose advice and undertakings never failed of success; to which were added a great generosity of mind, and huge dexterity of parts; by which qualities he procured himself an intimate friendship with many of the Romans.

*erat. Huc accedebat munificentia
animi & ingenii sollertia.
Quibus rebus fibi multos ex Ro-
manis familiari amicitia conjunxerat.*

VIII. There were at that time in our army, a great many, both of high and low rank, who preferred riches before virtue and honour, mighty party-men, and of great interest in their several countenances,

tentes, apud socios clari magis quam honesti; qui Jugurthæ non mediocrem animum pollicitando accendebant, *si M*cipsa rex occidisset, fore uti solus imperio Numidiæ potiretur. In ipso maxumam virtutem, Romæ omnia venslia esse. Sed postquam, Numantia deleta, P. Scipio dimittere auxilia, & ipse revorti domum decrevit, donatum atque laudatum magnifice pro concione Jugurtham in prætorium adduxit; ibique secreto monuit, *uti potius publice, quam privatim, amicitiam populi Romani coleret*; *neu quibus largiri insueceret*. Periculose a paucis emi, quod multorum esset. Si permanere vellet in suis artibus, ultro illi & gloriam & regnum venturum. Sin properantius pergeret, ipsum pecunia præcipitem casurum.

IX. Sic locutus, cum litteris eum, quas Micipſæ redderet, dimisit; earum sententia hæc erat. Jugurthæ tui bello Numantino longe maxuma virtus fuit. Quam rem tibi certo scio gaudio esse. Nobis ob merita sua carus est. Ut idem S. P. Q. R. sit, summa ope nitemur. Tibi quidem pro

tries; better known than esteemed among our allies, who inflamed the ambitious soul of Jugurtha by offers of their service, telling him, That when Micipſa dropp'd, he might easily secure the kingdom of Numidia to himself alone. He was a person of great abilities, and all things were to be sold at Rome. But when, upon the Reduction of Numantia, Scipio had determined to dismiss the auxiliary troops, and return home himself, he did, in the face of the army, present Jugurtha, and applaud him in terms of the highest approbation; but afterwards taking him into his tent, he secretly advised him, to cultivate a friendship with the Roman people, by paying his court to the government, rather than private persons, and to avoid bribery; since it would be hazardous to purchase that of a few, which belonged to many. If he would but continue steady in the exercise of his own good qualities, glory and a kingdom too would drop in to him of themselves; but if he was too hasty, his money would be the ruin of him.

IX. After this advice, he dismissed him with a letter for Micipſa, to the following purpose. Your Jugurtha has behaved incomparably well in the war of Numantia; which, I am sure, must be matter of no small joy to you. We have, and very deservedly, the highest respect for him; and will endeavour to procure him the same from the Senate and people of Rome. In renoſtra-

nostra amicitia gratulor.
En habes virum dignum te atque avo suo Masinissa. Igitur rex, ubi ea, quæ iama acceperat, ex litteris imperatoris ita esse cognovit, cum virtute, tum gratia viri permotus, flexit animum suum ; & Jugurtham beneficiis vincere agressus est. Statimque eum adoptavit, & testamento pariter cum filiis hæredem instituit. Sed ipse, paucos post annos, morbo atque ætate confectus, cum fibi finem vitæ adesse intelligeret, coram amicis & cognatis, itemque Atherbale & Hiempiale filiis, dicitur hujuscemodi verba cum Jugurtha habuisse.

X. *Parvum ego te, Jugurtha, amissi patre, fine spe, fine opibus, in meum regnum accepi ; existumans non minus me tibi, quam si genuisse, ob beneficia carum fore.* Neque ea res falsum me habuit. Nam, ut alia magna & egregia tua omissam, novissime rediens Numantia, meque regnumque meum gloria honoravisti ; tuaque virtute nobis Romanos ex amicis amicissimos fecisti. In Hispania nomen familie renovatum est. Postremo, quod difficillimum inter mortales est

gard to the friendship betwixt us, I congratulate you upon this occasion. Herewith I return you a man, worthy of you, and his grandfather Masinissa. *The King finding what common fame had before informed him of, confirmed by this letter of the general, moved as well by the fine accomplishments of the man, as his interest with the Romans, resolved to be easy with him, and endeavour to conquer him by kindness.* Accordingly he immediately adopted him, and by a will made him joint-heir with his sons. In a few years after, being worn out with infirmities and old age together, and finding himself a dying man, he is said, in the presence of his friends and relations, his two sons Atherbal and Hiempal too being by, to have addressed himself to Jugurtha, in the words following.

X. I did, my dear Jugurtha, receive you into my court, left a little one by your father, without hopes or fortune, promising myself, that you would be mindful of the favour, and love me no less than my own children, if I should have any ; nor was I deceived in that matter. For to say nothing of other great and noble actions of yours, at your return from Numantia, you did me and my kingdom the utmost honour, by your excellent behaviour improved to the highest pitch the friendship that before subsisted betwixt the Romans and us ; and revived afresh the name of our family in Spain ; and finally, what is the most difficult thing in the world, *gloria*

*gloria invidiam viciſti.
Nunc, quoniam mibi na-
tura finem vitæ facit, per
hanc dextram, per regni
fidem, moneo obtestorque,
uti hos, qui tibi genere
propinqui, beneficio meo
fratres sunt, caros habe-
as; neu malis alienos
adjungere, quam sanguine
conjunctiones retinere. Non
exercitus, neque theſauri,
præſidia regni sunt, ve-
rum amici; quos neque
armis cogere, neque auro
parare queas. Officio &
fide pariuntur. Quis au-
tem amicior, quam fra-
ter fratri? Aut quem
alienum fidum, invenies,
ſi tuis hostis fueris? E-
quidem ego regnum vobis
trado firmum, ſi boni eri-
tis; ſi mali, imbecillum.
Nam concordia res par-
væ crescunt, discordia
maximæ dilabuntur.
Cæterum, ante hos, te,
Jugurtha, qui ætate &
ſapientia prior es, ne ali-
ter quid eveniat, provi-
dere decet. Nam in omni
certamine, qui opulentior
eft, etiam ſi accipit injuri-
am, tamen, quia plus
potest, facere videtur.
Vos autem Atherbal &
Hiempſal, colite, obſer-
vate talem hunc virum;
imitamini virtutem, &
enitimini, ne ego meli-
ores liberos ſumpſiſſe vi-
dear, quam genuiſſe.*

you overcame envy itſelf by your
glory. Now, ſince nature is just
putting an end to my life, I be-
ſeech you by this right hand, by
the honour of a King too, I en-
treat and beg of you, to love my
children, your relations, and bro-
thers by adoption; and that you
would not transfer your affection
to strangers, rather than keep it
fix'd upon thoſe who are united
to you by blood. Armies and
treasures are not the ſecurity of
kingdoms, ſo much as friends,
whom you can neither force to be
ſuch by arms, nor purchase with
gold. They are only procured by
good offices and fidelity. Who
should be more a friend, than one
brother to another? Or what
stranger will you find faithful to
you, if you are an enemy to your
own relations? I deliver up to
you a kingdom, strong indeed, if
you are good to one another, but
weak, if you are wicked. For
small ſtates grow great by unani-
mity, whilst great ones come to
nothing by discord. But it be-
hooves you, Jugurtha, more than
they, you who are both older and
wiser than they, to take care and
guard againſt any misconduct in
this affair. For in all contests, the
more opulent party, tho' he real-
ly receive wrong, yet because he is
the more powerful, is thought to
do wrong. But do you, Atherbal
and Hiempſal, respect and rever-
ence this worthy man, imitate his
noble behaviour, and do your ut-
moſt, that the world may not
think, I have adopted a ſon prefer-
able to thoſe nature beſtowed up-
on me.

XI. Ad ea Jugurtha, tametsi regem ficta locutum intelligebat, & ipse longe aliter animo agitabat, tamen pro tempore benigne respondit. Micipsa paucis post diebus moritur. Postquam illi more regio justa magnifice fecerant, reguli in unum convenere, ut inter se de negotiis cunctis disceptarent. Sed Hiempfal, qui minimus ex illis erat, natura ferox, etiam antea ignobilitatem Jugurthae, quia materno genere impar erat, despiciens, dextra Atherballem adsedit; ne medius ex tribus, quod apud Numidas honori ducitur, Jugurtha foret. Dein tamen, ut ætati concederet, fatigatus a fratre, vix in partem alteram transductus est. Ibi cum multa de administrando imperio differerent, Jugurtha inter alias res jacit, Oportere quinquennii consulta & decreta omnia rescindi; nam per ea tempora confectum annis Micipsam parum animo valuisse. Tum idem Hiempfal placere sibi respondit; nam ipsum illum tribus his proxumis annis adoptione in regnum pervenisse. Quod verbum in pectus Jugurthae altius, quam quisquam ratus erat, descendit.

XI. To this Jugurtha made a very complaisant reply, suitable to the occasion, tho' he was sensible the King was far from being sincere in what he said, and he himself was as far from designing what he declared for. Micipsa died a few days after. As soon as the funeral solemnity, which was very magnificent, was over, the three princes met together, in order to confer about the settlement of their affairs. But Hiempfal, the youngest of them, being naturally high-spirited, who had before slighted Jugurtha for the meanness of his birth by the mother's side, placed himself on the right hand of Atherbal, to prevent Jugurtha's seating himself in the middle betwixt him and his brother, which amongst the Numidians is reckoned the most honourable position. And it was with much ado he was prevailed upon by the importunity of his brother, to pay a deference to the age of Jugurtha, by seating himself on the other side. After a great deal of discourse upon a method of proceeding in the administration of their kingdom, Jugurtha, amongst other things, proposes a repeal of all the resolutions and appointments of the five years foregoing, by reason Micipsa was at that time but in a doating condition. Hiempfal said, he was of the same mind; for his adoption had happened within that time, to wit, about three years before. Which saying sunk deeper into the mind of Jugurtha, than any one imagined. Therefore from that day forward, being perplexed M. Itaque,

Itaque, ex eo tempore
ira & metu anxius, mo-
liri, parare, atque ea mo-
do in animo habere, qui-
bus Hiempſal per dolum
caperetur. Quæ ubi tar-
dius procedunt, neque le-
nitur animus ferox ; sta-
tuit quovis modo incœp-
tum perficere.

XII. Primo conventu,
quem ab regulis factum
supra memoravi, propter
dissensionem placuerat di-
vidi thesauros, finisque
imperii singulis constitui.
Itaque tempus ad utram-
que rem decernitur, sed
maturius ad pecuniam
distribuendam. Reguli
interea in loca propinqua
thesauris, alias alio con-
cessere. Sed Hiempſal in
oppido Thirmida forte
eius domo utebatur, qui
proximus lictor Jugur-
thæ, carus acceptusque
ei semper fuerat. Quem
ille casu ministrum obla-
tum promissis onerat im-
pellitque, uti tamquam
suam domum visens eat,
portarum claves adulteri-
nas paret ; nam veræ ad
Hiempſalem referebantur.
Caeterum, ubi res
postularet, se ipsum cum
magna venturum manu.
Numida mandata brevi
conficit ; atque, uti doc-
tus erat, noctu Jugurthæ
milites introducit. Qui,
postquam in ædes irrupe-

*betwixt anger and fear, he used
bis utmost endeavours, all the art
and contrivance in his power, pri-
vately to make away with Hiemp-
ſal. But finding he could not, in
that way of proceeding, gain his
purpose so soon as he desired, and
his enraged soul being not to be pa-
cified, he resolves at any rate to
execute his design of murdering
him.*

*XII. In the first meeting which,
we have above said, the princes
had, they could not agree ; and
therefore resolved to divide the
treasure and the kingdom too ; and
a time was accordingly fix'd for
both ; but first for the partition of
the money. In the mean time, the
princes had withdrawn separately
into lodgings not far from the place
where the money lay ; particularly
Hiempſal into the town of Thir-
mida, to the house of one that had
been prime serjeant to Jugurtha,
and ever highly in his favour and
confidence. Now fortune presenting
him with so fine an opportunity, he
loads the fellow with promises, and
prevails with him to go under pre-
tence of visiting his house, and
provide false keys of the doors ; for
the true ones were always a-nights
carried up to Hiempſal in his bed-
chamber ; and when all was ready,
he told him, he would be sure
to come with a considerable force.
The Numidian quickly executed his
orders, and as instructed, let in
Jugurtha's soldiers by night. Af-
ter they were got in, they run some
one way, and some another, in
quest of the King. Some they kil-
led asleep, and others standing
re,*

re, diversi regem quædere ; dormientis alios, alios occurstantis interficere ; scrutari loca abdita ; clausa effringere ; strepitu & tumultu omnia miscere. Cum interim Hiempſal reperitur, occultans se tugurio mulieris ancillæ, quo initio pavidus & ignarus loci profugerat. Numidæ caput ejus, uti jussi erant, ad Jugurtham referunt.

XIII. Cæterum fama tanti facinoris per omnem Africam brevi divulgarunt. Atherbalem, omnisque, qui sub Micipſa imperio fuerant, metus invadit. In duas partis discedunt Numidæ ; plures Atherbalem sequuntur, sed illum alterum bello meliores. Igitur Jugurtha, quam maximas potest, copias armat. Urbis partim vi, alias voluntate imperio suo adiungit. Omni Numidæ imperare parat. Atherbal, tametsi Romam legatos miserat, qui senatum docerent de cæde fratris & fortunis suis, tamen fretus multitudine militum, parabat armis contendere. Sed, ubi res ad certamen venit, vixtus ex prælio profugit in provinciam, ac dehinc Romanum contendit. Tum Jugurtha, patratis consiliis, postquam omni Numidia

upon their defence ; searched all the private places about the house, and broke open such as were locked, and filled every part with noise and confusion. Whilst in the meantime, Hiempſal was found hiding himself in the poor lodging of a maid-servant ; whither, upon the first alarm, he ran in a fright, being not as yet very well acquainted with the house. The Numidians, according to their orders, carry his head to Jugurtha.

XIII. The fame of this villainy was soon spread all Africa over, and struck a mighty terror into Atherbal, and all that had been subjects of Micipſa. The Numidians were divided upon it into two parties ; the majority sided with Atherbal, but the most warlike with Jugurtha ; who raising as great an army as he could, reduces several cities, some by force, and others by persuasion, under his subjection ; and, in short, aims at nothing less than being master of all Numidia. Atherbal, tho' he had dispatched ambassadors to Rome, to inform the Senate of the murder of his brother, and his own condition ; yet depending upon the number of his troops, resolved to give his enemy battle. But being defeated therein, he made his escape into the Roman province, and from thence went to Rome. Jugurtha, after he had thus finished his work, and was now become master of all Numidia, considering the matter coolly by himself, dreaded the Roman people, and could find no security against their resentment,

potiebatur, in otio facinus suum cum animo reputans, timere populum Românum, neque adyorsus iram ejus usquam, nisi in avaritia nobilitatis, & pecunia sua, spem habere. Itaque, paucis diebus, cum auro argentoque multo legatos Romanam mittit; queis præcipit, uti primum veteres amicos muneribus explent; dein novos acquirant; postremo, quemcunque possint largiundo parare, ne cunctentur. Sed ubi Romam legati venere, & ex præcepto regis, hospitibus, aliisque, quorum ea tempestate in senatu auctoritas pollebat, magna munera misere; tanta commutatio incessit, ut ex maxima invidia in gratiam & favorem nobilitatis Jugurtha veniret; quorum pars spe, alii præmio inducti, singulos ex senatu ambiundo, nitebantur, ne gravius in eum consuleretur. Igitur, ubi legati satis confidunt, die constituto senatus utrisque datur. Atherbalem hoc modo locutum accepimus.

XIV. *P. C. Micipſa pater meus moriens mihi præcepit, uti regni Numidiae tantummodo procurationem existumarem meam; cæterum jus & imperium penes vos esse; simul eniterer domi militi- que quam maximo usui esse populo Romano; vos*

but in the avarice of the nobility, and his money. Wherefore in a few days time, he dispatches away ambassadors to Rome with great store of silver and gold, and orders them in the first place to glut all his old friends with presents, and then to procure him new ones; in short, to stick at nothing, but bribe all before them. As soon as the gentlemen came to Rome, and, according to the King's instructions, distributed large presents, to the persons by whom they were entertained, and others, leading men at that time in the Senate, such a wonderful change ensued upon it, that Jugurtha, instead of being under a terrible odium, was mightily in the good graces of all the nobility; some of which tempted by hopes, and others by actual bribes, made a strong interest in the house, to prevent any severe resolution against him. Wherefore, as soon as the ambassadors thought they had made all safe, they and Atherbal had an audience given them by the Senate. Upon which occasion Atherbal, it's said, spoke to the following effect.

XIV. Venerable Fathers, Micipſa my father at his death, gave me a charge, to look upon the administration of the kingdom of Numidia only as mine, but the right and sovereignty to be in you; and at the same time to be as serviceable to the Roman people as possible, both in peace, and in war; and regard you as my rela-
cognæ

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mibi cognatorum, vos in locum adfinium ducerem; si ea fecissem, in vestra amicitia exercitum, divitias, munimenta regni me habiturum. Quæ precepta patris mei cum agitarem, Jugurtha, homo omnium, quos terra sustinet, sceleratissimus, contempto imperio vestro, Masinissa me nepotem, etiam ab stirpe socium atque amicum populi Romani, regno fortunisque omnibus expulit. Atque ego, P.C. quoniam eo miseriaram venturus eram, vellem, potius ob mea, quam ob majorum meorum beneficia, posse me a vobis auxilium petere, ac maxime deberi mihi beneficia a populo Romano, quibus non egerem; secundum ea, si desideranda erant, uti debitibus uterer. Sed quoniam parum tuta per ipsa probitas est; neque mibi in manu fuit, Jugurtha qualis foret; ad vos configi, P.C. quibus, quod mibi miserrimum est, cogor prius oneri, quam usui, esse. Cæteri reges, aut bello victi in amicitiam a vobis recepti sunt, aut in suis dubiis rebus societatem vestram appetiverunt.

XV. *Familia nostra cum populo Romano bello Cartaginensi amicitiam instituit, quo tempore*

tions and kinsmen; telling me, if I did so, I should be sure to find forces, riches, and a security to my kingdom, in your friendship. And whilst I was proposing to put these orders of my father in execution, Jugurtha, the wickedest wretch alive, in contempt of your high authority, stripp'd me the grandson of Masinissa, and born an ally and friend of the Roman people, of my kingdom, and every thing else in the world. And since I was, most illustrious Fathers, to be reduced to so miserable a condition, I could wish I might have had the advantage, however, to implore your assistance for my own personal services, rather than those of my forefathers; but above all, that I might have a debt of kindness due to me from the Roman people, that I might never have occasion for; or if I had, might only make use of such as were due to me. But because integrity alone is no sufficient security, nor was it in my power to direct the conduct of Jugurtha, I have fled to you, worthy Fathers, for protection; to whom, to my unspeakable sorrow, I am obliged to be burdensome, before I could be of any service. Other Kings have been either first conquered in war, and then graciously received into your alliance, or else have in distress solicited for the same.

XV. Our family first contracted an alliance with the Roman people, in a war of theirs against the Carthaginians, at a time when
magis

magis fides ejus, quam fortuna, pendenda erat.
Quorum progeniem vos, P. C. nolite pati me nepotem Masinissæ frustra a vobis auxilium petere.
Si ad impetrandum nihil caussæ haberem, præter miferandam fortunam; quod paulo ante rex generæ, fama, atque copiis potens, nunc deformatus ærumnis, inops, alienas opes expecto; tamen erat majestatis populi Romani prohibere injuriam, neque pati cuiusquam regnum per scelus crescere.
Verum ego iis finibus ejectedus sum, quos majoribus meis populus Romanus dedit; unde pater & avus meus una vobiscum expulere Syphacem & Carthaginenses.
Vestra beneficia mihi erecta sunt, P. C. vos in mea injuria despecti estis. Eheu me miserum! buccine, Micipsa pater, beneficia tua evasere, uti quem tu parem cum liberis tuis, regnique participem fecisti, is potissimum stirpis tue extinxitor sit?
Numquamne ergo familia nostra quieta erit? Semperne in sanguine, ferro, fuga versabimur?
Dum Carthaginenses incolmes fuere, jure omnia sæva patiebamur. Hostis ab latere; vos amici procul; spes omnis in armis

their honour was more to be regarded, than their fortune. Suffer me not, mighty Fathers, a descendant of that family, the grandson of Masinissa, to implore your assistance in vain. If I had no other pretensions for procuring the same, besides the misery of my circumstances, that I, who was but lately a prince considerable for my extraction, fame, and forces, am now reduced to the lowest state of misery, poverty, and dependence; yet would it highly become the majesty of the Roman people to vouchsafe me their protection, and not suffer any prince to grow great by the practice of villainy. But I have been forced out of a country, which the Roman people bestowed upon my ancestors; from whence my father and grandfather, in conjunction with you, drove Syphax and the Carthaginians. The favours you conferred upon my family have been taken from me, noble fathers; you have been spitefully treated in the injustice done to me. Alas, wretch that I am! Is all your kindness, my dear father Micipsa, come to this, that the man you had made equal to your own sons, and joynth-heir of your kingdom with them, should, above all others, be the ruin of your issue? Must our family then never be at rest? Must we be ever in blood, war, or banishment? Whilst the Carthaginians flourished, we might well suffer every thing that was dismal. Our enemies were our next neighbours, and you our friends far off. All our hopes were

erat,

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erat. Postquam illa pestis ex Africa ejecta est, læti pacem agitabamus; quippe, queis hostis nullus erat, nisi forte quem vos jussifetis. Ecce autem ex improviso Jugurtha, intoleranda audacia, scelere atque superbia seâ effrens, fratre meo atque eodem propinquo suo interfecto, primum regnum ejus sceleris sui prædam fecit; post, ubi me iisdem dolis nequit capere, nihil minus, quam vim aut bellum, expectantem, in imperio vestro, sicuti videtis, extorrem patria, domo; inopem, coopertum miseriis, effecit, ut ubivis tutius, quam in meo regno, esset.

XVI. Ego sic existimabam, Patres Conscripti, uti prædicantem adiveram patrem meum; qui vestram amicitiam diligenter colerent, eos multum laborem fuscere, cæterum ex omnibus maxime tutos esse. Quod in familia nostra fuit, præstitit; uti in omnibus bellis adesset vobis; nos uti per otium tuti simus, in manu vestra est, Patres Conscripti. Pater nos duos fratres reliquit; tertium Jugurtham beneficiis suis ratus est nobis conjunctum fore. Alter eorum necatus; alterius ipse ego manus impias vix effugi. Quid a-

in our arms. But when Africa was delivered from that pestilent people, we enjoy'd all the delights of peace, as having no enemy, unless such as you had appointed us. When behold, unexpectedly, Jugurtha erecting his plumes with intolerable impudence, wickedness, and pride; and murdering my brother, his near relation, made his kingdom the first prize of his villainy; and then not finding it practicable to take me off by the like wicked contrivance, whilst I expected nothing at all of violence or war, has, in the face of your mighty power, driven me, as you see, from my country, from my home, in want of every thing, and under the heaviest load of misery, and yet more secure anywhere, than in my own kingdom.

XVI. I really thought, O venerable Fathers, as I had heard my father often say, that such as took care to cultivate a friendship with you, must do it at the expence of much labour and pains, but were of all mankind the most secure. All that was in the power of our family to do, it did, that is, it assisted you in all your wars; it is in your power to make us a return of peace and security, mighty Fathers. My father left behind him us two brothers, and thought he should make Jugurtha a third brother to us, by the favours he heaped upon him. One of the three is already murdered, and I had much ado to escape the wicked hands of the other. What shall I do? Or whither shall I, unhappy man, apply myself? All

gam ♀

gam? Aut quo potissimum infelix accedam?
Generis præsidia omnia extincta sunt; pater, uti
necessæ erat, naturæ con-
cēssit; fratri, quem mi-
nime decuit, propinquus
per scelus vitam eripuit;
adfinis, amicos, propin-
quos cæteros meos, alium
alia clades oppressit;
capti ab Jugurtha, pars
in crucem acti, pars be-
stiis objecti sunt; pauci,
quibus relicta est anima,
clausi in tenebris cum
mærore & luētu, morte
graviorem vitam exi-
gunt. Si omnia, quæ aut
amisi, aut ex necessariis
advorsa facta sunt, in-
columia manerent; ta-
men, si quid ex improviso
mali accidisset, vos im-
plorarem, Patres Con-
scripti; quibus pro mag-
nitudine imperii, jus &
injurias omnis curæ esse
debet. Nunc vero exful-
patria, domo, solus, atque
omnium honestarum re-
rum egens, quos accedam,
aut quos appellem? Na-
tionesne an reges, qui
omnes familie nostræ ob-
vestram amicitiam infesti
sunt? An quoquam mibi
adire licet, ubi non majo-
rum meorum hostilia mo-
numenta plurima sint?
An quisquam nostri misé-
reri potest, qui aliquando
vobis hostis fuit?

the security to be had from my own family is gone. My father yielded, as necessity required, to the order of nature. My brother was villainously robbed of his life, by a relation, who of all men should have been the furthest from such a crime. My friends and relations, whether by blood or marriage, have been all ruined, some one way, some another. Being taken prisoners, part of them have been crucified, whilst others have been thrown to wild beasts. A few whose lives were spared, have been clapt up in dungeons, and lead a life in sorrow and mourning, worse than death. If I was in full possession of all I have lost, and my relations and friends were none of them my enemies, or unfortunate; yet in case of a sudden calamity surprizing me, I shoud, mighty Fathers, apply to you for deliverance, whom, by reason of your vast dominion, it highly becomes to see right and justice done throughout the world. But now whither shall I go, or to whom shall I apply, banished as I am, from my country, my home, left alone, and in want of every the least decent accommodation of life? Shall I apply to foreign nations or princes, who are all mortal enemies to our family, upon account of our alliance with you? Or can I go any whither, where there are not very many monuments of the valour of my ancestors, employed against the country in your favour? Or can any one have compassion upon me, who was ever an enemy to you?

BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 97

XVII. Postremo, Masinissa nos ita instituit, P.
C. ne quem coleremus, nisi populum Romanum ;
ne sociates, ne fœdera
nova acciperemus ; abund-
de magna præsidia nobis
in vestra amicitia fore ;
si huic imperio fortuna
mutaretur, una occiden-
dum nobis esse. Virtute
ac diis volentibus, magni
estis & opulentis ; omnia
secunda & obedientia
sunt ; quo facilius socio-
rum injurias curare licet.
Tantum illud vereor, ne
quos privata amicitia Ju-
gurtha, parum cognita,
transversos agat ; quos
ego audio maxima ope-
niti, ambire, fatigare vos
singulos, ne quid de absen-
te, incognita causa, sta-
tuatis ; fingere me verba,
& fugam simulare, cui
licuerit in regno manere.
Quod utinam illum, cu-
jus impio facinore in has
miserias projectus sum,
eadem hæc simulantem
videam ; & aliquando, aut
apud vos, aut apud Deos
immortalis, rerum huma-
narum cura oriatur ; ut
ille, qui nunc sceleribus
suis ferox atque præcla-
rus est, omnibus malis ex-
cruciatus, impietatis in
parentem nostrum, fra-
tris mei necis, mearumque
miseriarum gravis
pœnas reddat. Jam jam
frater animo meo carissi-

XVII. Finally, worthy fathers, Masinissa's instruction to our family ever was, to make no court to any but the Roman people, to engage in no alliances or treaties with any other power whatever ; alledging, that we should find abundant security in your friendship alone ; but that if fortune should turn upon the Roman power to its destruction, we must then of necessity perish with it. By your own good conduct, and the favour of the Gods, you are great and mighty ; success and submission attend you throughout the world, whereby you are enabled to redress with ease the injuries of your allies. All that I fear in the case is, lest the friendship of Jugurtha with particular members of this state, to whom he is not sufficiently known, should misguide them in their conduct upon this occasion ; who, I am informed, are using their utmost endeavours, soliciting and importuning you by a very particular application, not to proceed to any resolution against him, as he is not here himself, without a full hearing of his cause. 'Tis said, that what I alledge, is pretence only ; as if I had not been forced to fly my kingdom, but might have continued in it, if I would. Heavens grant I could but see the man, by whose impious violence I have been plunged into my present misery, dissembling as I do ; and that at last either you, or the immortal Gods, would take the affairs of mankind under your care. Then would the wretch, who now prides and triumphs in
me,

me, quamquam tibi immaturo, & unde minime decuit, vita erecta est, ramen latetandum magis, quod dolendum, putat eum tuum. Non enim regnum, sed fugam, exsilitum, egestatem, & has omnis, que me premunt, rerum, cum anima simul amissi. At ego infelix, in tanta mala præcipitatus, pulsus ex patrio regno, rerum humanarum spectaculum præbeo; invertus quid agam, tuasne injurias persequar, ipse auxilii egens; an regno consulam, cuius vita neque potestas ex opibus alienis pendet. Utinam emori, fortunis meis honestus exitus esset; ne vivere contemptus viderer, si defessus malis injuriae concessissem. Nunc, neque vivere tubet, neque mori licet sine dedecore. P.C. per vos, per liberos atque parentes vestros, per maiestatem populi Romani, subvenite misero mihi; ite obviam injuriae; nolite pati regnum Numidiae, quod vestrum est, per scelus & sanguinem familiæ nostræ rabiescere.

I have suffered. Now I have no inclination to life, and yet I cannot die with honour. Now I beg of you, mighty Fathers, for the sake of yourselves, your children and parents, and the majesty of the Roman people, relieve a poor wretch, curb the violence of Jugurtha, and suffer not the kingdom of Numidia, which is yours, to come to nothing, by villainy, and the murder of our family.

his villainy, by all imaginable misery, suffer the vengeance due to him, for his wicked disregard to the memory of our father, the murderer of my brother, and reducing me to the woeful condition I am now in. Now, now, O my dear, dear brother, tho' you were cut down in the prime of your days, and by a hand of all others that should least have been guilty of such a fact; yet I cannot but think I have reason rather to rejoice at, than lament, your fall. For you did not so much lose your kingdom with your life, as you escaped the wretched necessity of flight, banishment, want, and all that weight of woe, which lies so heavy upon me. But I, poor wretch, thrown headlong from the height of my father's kingdom into the lowest depths of misery, am a notorious instance of the uncertainty of human affairs, not knowing what to do; whether to prosecute the revenge of the wrongs done to you, helpless as I am, or endeavour only the recovery of my kingdom, whilst the disposal of me, with respect to life or death, is entirely in the power of others. I could wish death might put a decent end to my life, to avoid the despicable appearance I must make; if tired out by my misfortunes, I must be obliged to be quiet under the injustice

XVIII. Postquam rex finem loquendi fecit, legati Jugurtha, largitione magis, quam causa, freui, paucis respondent; Hiempſalem, ob ſævitiam suam, ab Numidis interfectum; Atherbalum ultro bellum inferentem, postquam ſuperatus fit, queri, quod injuriam facere nequifet; Jugurtham ab ſenatu petere, ne ſe alium putarent, ac Numantiae cognitus eſſet; neu verba inimici ante facta ſua ponerent. Deinde utrique Curia egrediuntur. Senatus statim consulitur. Fautores legatorum, præterea magna pars gratia depravata, Atherbalis dicta contemnere; Jugurthæ virtutem laudibus extollere; gratia, voce, denique omnibus modis pro alieno ſcelere & flagitio, ſua quaſi pro gloria, nitebantur. At contra pauci, quibus bonum & ſequum divitijs carius erat, ſubveniendum Atherbali, & Hiempſalis mortem severe vindicandam ceneſebant. Sed ex omnibus maxime Æmilius Scaurus, homo nobilis, impiger, factiosus, avidus potentiæ, honoris, divitiarum; cæterum vitia ſua callide occultans. Is, postquam videt regis largitionem famosam impudentem-

XVIII. After the King had made an end of his speech, the deputies of Jugurtha, depending more upon the bribes they had given, than their cause, made a ſhort reply, That Hiempſal had been murdered by the Numidians, because of his cruelty; that Atherbal had been the aggressor in the late war, and because he had been baffled therein, and could not do Jugurtha the mischief he intended, he now complained. That Jugurtha begged of the Senate, they would not take him to be any other man, than what he had been known to be at Numantia, or ſhew more regard to the words of his enemy, than to his actions. Upon this, both parties quit the house, and the Senate immediately went upon the affair. The favourers of the ambassadors, and a great party beside, made by the influence of their friends amongſt the former, slighted what was ſaid by Atherbal, highly extolled the conduct of Jugurtha, and by their interest, ſpeecing, and, in ſhort, all manner of means, ſtruggled as hard to cover Jugurtha's wickedness, and infamous crimes, as if their own honour was at ſtake. On the other hand, a ſmall-party that regarded justice and equity more than money, advised to relieve Atherbal, and revenge ſeverely the death of Hiempſal. The most eminent amongſt these was Æmilius Scaurus, a person of noble descent, active, factious, greedy of power, honour, and riches; but cunningly concealing his vices. He finding that the bribery carri-
N 2 que,

que, veritus, quod in tali re solet, ne polluta licentia invidiam accenderet, animum a consueta lubidine continuuit.

XIX. Vicit tamen in senatu pars illa, quæ vero pretium aut gratiam anteferebat. Decretum fit, *uti decem legati regnum, quod Micip/a obtinuerat, inter Jugurtham & Atherbalem dividerent.* Cujus legationis princeps fuit L. Opimius, homo clarus, & tum in senatu potens, quia consul, C. Gracchus & M. Fulvio interfectis, acerrume vindictam nobilitatis in plebem exercuerat. Eum Jugurtha, tametsi Romæ in amicis habuerat, tamen accuratislume recepit; dando & pollicendo multa perfecit, uti famæ, fidei, postremo omnibus suis rebus commodum regis anteferret. Reliquos legatos eadem via aggressus, plerosque capit; paucis carior fides, quam pecunia, fuit. In divisione, quæ pars Numidiæ Mauritaniam adtingit, agro virisque opulentior, Jugurthæ traditur. Illam alteram, specie, quam usu, potiorem, quæ portuofior & ædificiis magis exornata erat, Atherbal possedit. Res postulare

ed on by the King was notorious and barefaced, fearing, as it usually happens in such a case, lest the vast licence taken in that matter should inflame the general odium against the parties guilty, had laid a restraint upon his vicious inclination.

XIX. However, the party that preferred money or favour before the truth, prevailed in the Senate; and a vote passed for the appointment of ten commissioners, to divide the kingdom which Micipha had had, betwixt Jugurtha and Atherbal. The first commissioner was L. Opimius, a person of great figure, and of vast weight at that time in the house; because, when he was Consul, he had taken off C. Gracchus and M. Fulvius, and after that success, had furiously executed the vengeance of the nobility upon the commons. And tho' he had been one of Jugurtha's friends at Rome, yet, upon his arrival in Africa, he received him with huge ceremony; and by giving him money, and promising more, he so far wrought upon him, that he preferred the King's interest before his own credit, honour, and, in short, every thing else. Jugurtha went to work in the same manner with the rest of the commissioners, and corrupted most of them. A few of them valued their honour more than money. In the division of the kingdom, that part of Numidia, which borders upon Mauritania, and is much the more considerable for goodness of soil, and number of people, was assigned to Jugurtha. Atherbal had the other, preferable in appearance, but not reality, as having more *vide*.

videtur Africæ situm paucis exponere; & eas gentes, quibuscum nobis bellum aut amicitia fuit, attingere. Sed quæ loca & nationes, ob calorem, aut asperitatem, item solitudines, minus frequenta sunt, de iis haud facile compertum narravem, cætera quam paucissimis absolvam.

XX. In divisione orbis terræ plerique in parte tertia Africam posuere; pauci tantummodo Afiam & Europam esse; sed Africam in Europa. Ea finis habet, ab occidente fretum nostri maris & Oceani; ab ortu solis declivem latitudinem, quem locum Catabathmon incolæ appellant. Mare sœvum, importuosum. Agger frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbori infœcundus; caelo terraque penuria aquarum; genus hominum salubri corpore, velox, patiens laborum; plerosque senectus dissolvit, nisi qui ferro aut a bestiis interiere. Nam morbus haud sœpe quemquam superat. Ad hoc, malefici generis plurima animalia. Sed qui mortales initio Africam habuerint, quique postea accesserint, aut quo modo inter se permixti sint; quamquam ab ea fama, quæ plerosque obtinet,

harbours and fine buildings in it. And here I judge, it may not be improper to give a short account of the situation of Africa, and of those nations we have had any war or alliance with. But as for those parts and nations, which, because of their excessive heat, their being rocky or desert, are less frequented, I can say little with any certainty; but the rest I shall dispatch with all possible brevity.

XX. In the division of the earth, most authors reckon Africa a third part. Some reckon indeed but two, Asia and Europe; but then they count Africa in Europe. That is bounded on the west by the streight, which makes the communication betwixt our sea and the ocean, on the east by a wide declivity, called by the natives Cata-bathmos. The sea bordering upon it is boisterous, where there are few or no harbours. The country is fruitful in grain of all kinds, and good for feeding of cattle, but produces very few trees; water is scarce, as well spring-water, as rain. The natives are healthy, swift of foot, and hardy. Most of them die of old age, except such as perish by the sword, or wild beasts. For a disease seldom dispatches them. But then it abounds with noxious creatures. Now, as to the first inhabitants of this country, and those that in succeeding ages settled there, and how they incorporated, I shall give a very brief account, different indeed from the common one, but such as was interpreted to me out of the Carthaginian books, which diver-

diversum est, tamen, ut ex libris Punicis, qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur, interpretatum nobis est, utique rem sese habere cultores ejus terræ putant, quam paucissimis dicam. Cæterum fides ejus rei penes auctores erit.

XXI. Africam initio habuere Gætuli & Libyes, asperi in cultique; queis cibus erat caro ferina, atque humi pabulum, uti pecoribus. Hi neque moribus, neque lege, aut imperio cuiusquam regebantur; vagi, palantes, quas nox coegerat, sedes habebant. Sed postquam in Hispania Hercules, sicuti Afri putant, interiit; exercitus ejus, compositus ex gentibus variis, amissio duce, ac paullim multis sibi quisque imperium potentibus, brevi dilabitur. Ex eo numero Medi, Persæ, & Armenii, navibus in Africam transvecti, proximos nostro mari locos occupaverunt. Sed Persæ intra Oceanum magis; hique alveos navium inversos protuguriis habuere; quia neque materia in agris, neque ab Hispanis emundi aut mutandi copia erat. Mare magnum & ignara lingua commercia prohibebant. Hi paulatim per connubia Gætulos secum miscuere; & quia, saepe tentantes agros, alia deinde alia loca petivertant,

were said to be King Hiempsal's, and what the people of that country take to be fact. But let the authors answer for the credibility of it.

quam paucissimis dicam.

XXI. The original inhabitants of Africa were the Gætulians and the Libyans, a rough unpolished people, who lived upon flesh taken in hunting, or upon herbs, like cattle. These were under no manner of confinement from custom, law or government; but strolling about here and there, took up their lodging, where the night happened to overtake them. But after Hercules died in Spain, as the Africans have it, his army that was made up of divers nations, upon the loss of their leader, and the bustle made by a competition for the command, dispersed in a short time. Of that number the Medes, the Persians, and Armenians, passing over by shipping into Africa, seized upon those parts of it, that ly upon our sea. But the Persians lay more upon the ocean. They made use of their ships turn'd bottom upwards for houses; because there was no wood in that country, nor had they any opportunity of buying any, or trucking for it with the Spaniards. A wide sea, and a language to them unknown, render'd all commerce impracticable. By degrees, they by intermarriages mixed with the Gætulians; and because they were often shifting about from place to place, to try the goodness of the soil, they called themselves Numidians. To this semet

semet ipsi Numidas appellavere. Cæterum adhuc ædificia Numidarum agrestium, quæ *Mapalia* illi vocant, oblonga, incurvis lateribus tecta, quasi navium carinæ sunt. Medis autem & Armeniis accessere Libyes. Nam hi propius mare Africum agitabant. Gætuli sub sole magis, haud procul ab ardoribus; hique mature oppida habuere. Nam, fretu divisi ab Hispania, mutare res inter se instituerant. Nomen eorum paullatim Libyes corrupere, barbara lingua Mauros pro Medis appellantes. Sed res Persarum brevi adolevit; ac postea Nomo-Numidæ, propter multitudinem, a parentibus degressi, possedere ea loca, quæ proxima Carthaginem Numidia appellatur. Deinde, utrique alteris freti, finitimos armis aut metu sub imperium suum coegere; normen gloriisque sibi addidere; magis hi, qui ad nostrum mare processerant; quia Libyes, quam Gætuli, minus bellicosi. Denique Africæ pars inferior pleraque ab Numidis possessa est. Victi omnes in gentem nomenque imperantium conceclere.

XXII. Postea Phœnices, alii multitudinis domi minuendæ gratia, pars

day the cottages of the Numidians, which they call *Mapalia*, are of an oblong form, with the sides bending out, like the hulls of ships. The Libyans joined the Medes and Armenians, who lived nearer the African sea. The Gætulians by more to the sun, not far from the hottest part of the torrid zone. And these quickly built towns. For being divided only by a narrow sea from Spain, they carried on a traffic there. But the Libyans by degrees altered their name, calling them, in their language, *Mauri*, instead of *Medi*. But the Persians became, in a short time, a flourishing people. Afterwards too the Nomo-Numidians, by reason of their vast numbers, separating from their parents, possessed themselves of the country about Carthage, which is called *Numidia*. After that, both parties depending upon their mutual assistance of one another, did by force of arms, or the fear thereof, bring their neighbours under subjection to them, and acquired to themselves a mighty name, and great glory; but especially those who bordered upon our sea; because the Libyans are less warlike than the Gætulians. Finally, the lower part of Africa was most of it over-run by the Numidians. And the conquered people mixed with, and went by the name of the conquerors.

XXII. Afterwards the Phœnicians, some to lessen the over-great crowds at home, and others out of impe-

imperii cupidine, solicita-
ta plebe, & aliis novarum
rerum avidis, Hipponem,
Hadrumetum, Leptim,
aliasque urbis in ora ma-
ritima condidere. Hæque
brevi multum auctæ, pars
originibus suis præsidio,
aliae decori suere. Nam
de Carthagine filere me-
lius puto, quam parum
dicere; quoniam alio pro-
perare tempus monet.
Igitur ad Catabathmon,
qui locus Ægyptum ab
Africa dividit, secundo
mari prima Cyrene est,
colonia Thereon; ac de-
inceps duæ Syrtes, inter-
que eas Leptis; deinde
Philenon aræ; quem lo-
cum Ægyptum versus
finem imperii habuere
Carthaginenses; post a-
liae Punicæ urbes. Cæ-
tera loca usque ad Mau-
ritaniam Numidæ tenent.
Proxime Hispaniam
Mauri sunt. Super Nu-
midiam Gætulos accepi-
mus, partim in tuguriis,
alios in cultius vagos agi-
tare; post eos Æthiopas
esse; dein loca exusta so-
lis ardoribus. Igitur bello
Jugurthino pleraque ex
Punicis oppida, & finis
Carthaginensium, quos
novissime habuerant,
populus Romanus per
Magistratus administra-
bat. Gætulorum magna
pars Numidiæ ad flumen
usque Mulucham sub Ju-

*a desire of power, engaging many
of the commonalty to put themselves
under their leading and direction,
as well as others that were fond
of novelty, built Hippo, Hadru-
metum, Leptis, and other cities
upon the sea-coast. And these
growing considerably in a little
time, were partly a security, and
partly an ornament to their foun-
ders. For as to Carthage, I think
it better to say nothing at all of it,
than but a little, because I am in
haste to return to my proper sub-
ject. Wherefore by Catabatmos,
which place divides Egypt from
Africa, down the sea, first occurs
Cyrene, a colony of the Thereans.
Then follow the two Syrtes, and
Leptis betwixt them; then the altars
of the Philenians, which were
the boundary of the Carthaginian
empire to the side of Egypt; af-
ter them succeed other Carthaginian
cities. The rest of Africa, as
far as Mauritania, the Numidians
are possessed of. The Moors are
next to Spain. The Gætulians, we
are told, ly above Numidia, who
part of them live in huts, part
wander about, without any settled
habitation. Beyond them ly the
Æthiopians; beyond whom the
country is burnt up with excessive
heat. In the time of the war a-
gainst Jugurtha, the Roman peo-
ple governed most of the Punic
towns, as well as the country,
that had been under the subjection
of the Carthaginians, by magi-
strates of their own. A great
part of the Gætulians, and the
Numidians as far as the river
Mulucha, were under Jugurtha.*

gurtha erant; Mauris omnibus rex Bocchus imperitabat, præter nomen, cætera ignarus populi Romani; itemque nobis neque bello, neque pace antea cognitus. De Africa & ejus incolis, ad necessitudinem rei satis dictum.

XXIII. Postquam diuiso regno, legati Africa decessere; & Jugurtha, contra timorem animi, præmia sceleris adeptum sese videt; certum ratus, quod ex amicis apud Numantiam acceperat, omnia Romæ venalia esse; simul & illorum pollicitationibus accensus, quos paullo ante muneribus expleverat, in regnum Atherbalis animum intendit. Ipse acer, bellicosus; at is, quem petebat, quietus, imbellis, placido ingenio, opportonus injuriæ, metuens magis, quam metuendus. Igitur ex improviso finis ejus cum magnâ manu invadit; multos mortalis cum pecore atque alia præda capit; ædificia incendit; pleraque loca hostiliter cum equitatu accedit. Deinde cum omni multitudine in regnum suum convertit, existmans dolore permotum Atherbalem injurias suas manu vindicaturum, eamque rem belli causam fore. At ille, quod ne-

King Bocchus ruled over all the Moors, a stranger to the Romans, any farther than their name, and not known to us before, either by peace or war. But this may suffice my purpose to say of Africa, and it's inhabitants.

XXIII. After the Roman commissioners had divided the kingdom, and left Africa; and Jugurtha, contrary to his fears, saw himself rewarded for his villainy; taking it now for a certainty which he had heard from his friends at Numantia, that all things were to be sold at Rome, being likewise pushed on by the promises of those, whom he had but a little before loaded with presents, he resolved to have Atherbal's kingdom from him. He was himself an active, warlike man; but he whom he designed to attack, a quiet, weak, meek-spirited creature, unable to defend himself, and more fearful of others, than to be feared by any. Wherefore Jugurtha invades his country with a great army, takes abundance of men, cattle, and other plunder; fires towns, and over-runs almost all the country with his horse. And when he had done, returned with all his forces into his own kingdom; supposing Atherbal would resent and revenge the abuse, and so a war would ensue upon it. But he not looking upon himself as a match for the other in war, and depending more upon the friendship of the Roman people, than his Numidian subjects, sent deputies to Jugurtha, to complain
O que

que se parem armis exi-
stumabat, & amicitia po-
puli Romani magis, quam
Numidis, fatus erat, le-
gatos ad Jugurtham de
injuriis questum misit ;
qui, tametsi contumeliosa
dicta retulerant, prius ta-
men omnia pati decrevit,
quam bellum sumere ;
quia tentatum antea secus
cesserat. Neque eo magis
cupido Jugurthæ minue-
batur ; quippe qui totum
eius regnum animo jam
invaserat. Itaque non,
ut antea, cum prædato-
ria manu, sed magno ex-
ercitu comparato, bellum
gerere cœpit, & aperte
totius Numidiæ imperi-
um petere. Cæterum, qua pergebat, urbis, agros vastare;
prædas agere ; suis animum,

XXIV. Atherbal, ubi
intelligit eo procelsum,
uti regnum aut reliquen-
dum esset, aut armis reti-
nendum, necessario copias
parat, & Jugurthæ
obvius procedit. Interim,
haud longe a mari prope
Cirtam oppidum, utriusque
confedit exercitus ;
&, quia diei extremum
erat, prælium non incep-
tum. Sed, ubi plerumque
noctis processit, obscuro,
etiam tum lumine, mili-
ties Jugurthini, signo da-
to, castra hostium invadunt ;
semisomnos par-
tim, alios arma sumentis
fugant funduntque. A-
therbal cum paucis equi-

of the injustice done him. And
tho' they brought but a rude an-
swer back again, yet he resolved
to suffer any thing, rather than
engage in a war, having had such
ill success in the former. However,
Jugurtha's greedy humour was not
hereby lessened at all, as having
in his own thoughts already de-
voured his whole kingdom. Where-
fore he begun now to make war,
not as before, with a band of plun-
derers only, but with a numerous
and a regular army ; and now av-
owedly claimed for himself the
kingdom of all Numidia ; and
where-ever he came, laid waste
and plundered both town and coun-
try ; put life into his own men,
and increased more and more the
fright the enemy was in.

XXIV. Atherbal finding mat-
ters were come to such a pass, that
he must either quit his kingdom, or
keep it by force of arms, was ne-
cessitated to raise troops, and march
against Jugurtha. In the mean
time, both armies encamped not
far from the sea, nigh the town
of Cirta ; and because the day was
almost spent, they did not engage
in battle. But when the night was
almost over, about twilight, the
soldiers of Jugurtha had the sig-
nal given them, and made an at-
tack upon the enemy's camp, put
to flight and dispersed them, whilst
some were half asleep, and others
were taking to their arms. Ath-
erbal, with a few horse, made his
escape to Cirta ; and had there not
been a good number of Romans in

tibus

tibus Cirtam profugit ; & ni multitudo togatorum fuisset, quæ Numidas insequentis mœnibus prohibuit, uno die inter duos reges cœptum atque patratum foret bellum. Igitur Jugurtha oppidum circumfedit ; vineis, turribusque, & machinis omnium generum expugnare aggreditur ; maxime festinans tempus legatum antecapere, quos ante prælium factum Romanum ab Atherbale missos audiverat. Sed, postquam senatus de bello eorum accepit, tres adolescentes in Africam legantur, qui ambos reges adeant ; S. P. Q. R. verbis nuncient, velle & censere eos ab armis discedere ; de controversiis suis, jure potius quam bello disceptare : Ita seque illisque dignum esse.

XXV. Legati Africam maturantes veniunt ; eo magis, quod Romæ, dum proficiunt, de proelio facto, & oppugnatione Cirtæ audiebatur. Sed is rumor clemens erat. Quorum Jugurtha accepta oratione respondit ; sibi neque majus quidquam, neque carius auctoritate senati esse ; ab adolescentia sua ita se ensum, ut ab optimo quoque probaretur. Virtute, non malitia, P. Scipioni, summo viro placuisse ; ab eas-

town, who repulsed the Numidians, in pursuit of him, from the walls, the war betwixt the two Kings had been begun and ended in one day. Upon this, Jugurtha laid close siege to the town, and endeavours by means of vineæ, towers, and engines of all sorts, to take it ; making all the haste he could to be beforehand with the deputies he heard had been sent to Rome by Atherbal, before the battle. But after the Senate were informed of this war, three young gentlemen were dispatched by them into Africa, with orders to apply to both Kings, and acquaint them, That it was the pleasure of the Senate and people of Rome, they should both be quiet, and decide their disputes in the way of reason, and not of war, as what would be more for the honour of the Romans, and themselves too.

XXV. The deputies make all possible haste into Africa, and the rather, because whilst they were preparing for their journey, news arrived in Rome of the battle, and the siege of Cirta ; but such too as lessened very much the odiousness of the facts. Jugurtha, upon hearing the deputies, replied, That he was ready to pay the utmost deference to the authority of the Senate ; he had endeavoured from his youth to behave in such a manner, as to gain the approbation of the best of men, and had recommended himself to the favour of that great man P. Scipio. dem

dem artis a Micipsa, non penuria liberorum, in regnum adoptatum esse. Cæterum, quo plura bene atque strenue fecisset, eo animum suum injuriam minus tolerare. Atherbalem dolis vitæ suæ infidiarum; quod ubi compiperisset, sceleri obvium isse. Populum Romanum neque recte, neque pro bono facturum, si ab jure gentium seje prohibuerit. Postremo, de omnibus rebus legatos Romam brevemissurum. Ita utrique digrediuntur. Atherbalis appellandi copia non fuit. Jugurtha, ubi eos Africa decessisse ratus est, neque propter loci naturam Cirtam armis expugnare potest, vallo atque fossa mænia circumdat; turris extruit, easque præfidiis firmat; præterea dies noctisque, aut per vim, aut dolis tentare; defensoribus moenium præmia modo, modo formidinem ostentare; suos hortando ad virtutem erigere; prorsus intentus cuncta parare. Atherbal ubi intelligit omnis fortunas suas in extremo sitas, hostem intestum, auxilii spem nullam, penuria rerum necessiarum bellum trahi non posse; ex iis, qui una Cirtam profugerant, duos maxime impigros delegit; eos,

pio, by his virtue, not wickedness. He had likewise been adopted by Micipsa, to succeed in his kingdom, for the same good qualities, and not for want of sons. But the better he had behaved, the more he resented any abuse. That Atherbal had form'd a plot against his life, upon the discovery of which, he had endeavoured to prevent him. That the Roman people would not do well, or deal fairly by him, if they debarred him from the common right of nations. Finally, he told them, he would shortly send deputies to Rome about all matters. After this answer, they parted. The Roman deputies could not get into the town to speak to Atherbal. When Jugurtha thought they were departed from Africa, finding it impossible to take Cirta by assault, because of the natural strength of the place, he blocks it up closely on all sides with a rampart and a ditch; builds towers, and fills them with armed men; and besides, makes frequent attempts upon it by day and by night, in the way of open force, or stratagem; plying the besieged one while with promises, and another while with threats; and at the same time animating his own men to do their utmost. In short, he pushed the business with all possible application and eagerness. Atherbal finding himself reduced to the last extremity, his enemy bent upon his destruction, no hopes of assistance, and that the war could not be continued for want of necessities, chuses from amongst those that had multa

multa pollicendo ac misericordando casum suum, confirmat, uti per hostium munitiones noctu ad proximum mare, dein Romam pergerent. Numidæ paucis diebus jussa efficiunt. Litteræ Atherbalis in tenatu recitatæ, quarum sententia hæc fuit.

XXVI. *Non mea culpa sæpe ad vos oratum mitto, P.C. sed vis Jugurthæ subigit; quem tanta lubido me extinguedi invasit, uti neque vos neque deos immortalis in animo habeat; sanguinem meum, quam omnia, malit. Itaque quintum jam mensem socius & amicus populi Romani armis obsecus teneor; neque mihi Micipse patris mei beneficia, neque vestra decreta auxiliantur. Ferro an fame acrius urgari, incertus sum. Plura de Jugurtha scribere deboretur me fortuna mea. Etiam antea expertus sum, parum fidei misericis esse. Nisi tamen intelligo illum, supra quam ego sum, petere; neque simul amicitiam vestram & regnum meum sperare; utrum gravius existumet, nemini occultum est. Nam initio occidit Hiempalem fratrem meum; deinde patrio regno me expulit. Quæ sane fuerint nostræ*

escaped along with him to Cirta, two of the most active; and by large promises, and lamenting his condition, prevails with them to get through the enemies lines in the night-time down to the sea, and from thence to go to Rome. The Numidians execute their orders in a few days. Atherbal's letter was read in the Senate, which was to the following effect.

XXVI. 'Tis no fault of mine, illustrious Fathers, that I trouble you with such frequent messages; but I am obliged to it by the violence of Jugurtha, who is so madly bent upon my destruction, that he has no regard to you, or the immortal Gods; but had rather have my blood, than all things in the world besides. And therefore I, an ally and friend of the Roman people, have been closely besieged for five months together; whilst neither the services of my father Micipsa, nor your decrees, avail at all to my relief. I am unable to tell you, whether I am more distressed by sword, or by famine. My circumstances discourage me from enlarging in my complaints against Jugurtha. I have found by experience, the unfortunate have but little credit. But however, I am sensible, he has something in view beyond my destruction, and never expects to enjoy your friendship and my kingdom together. Which of the two he is most ambitiously fond of, can be no secret to any body. For he first of all murdered my brother Hiempal, and then forced me from my father's kingdom. Let those be acts of injury-

injuriae; nihil ad vos. Verum nunc regnum vestrum armis tenet; me, quem vos imperatorem Numidis posuistis, clausum obsidet; legatorum verba quanti fecerit, pericula mea declarant.
Quid est reliquum, nisi vis vestra, qua moveri possit? Nam ego quidem vellem, & haec quae scribo, & illa quae antea in senatu questus sum, vana forent potius, quam miseria mea fidem verbis faceret. Sed quoniam eonatus sum, ut Jugurtha scelerum ostentui essem; non jam mortem neque ærumnas, tantummodo inimici imperium, & cruciatus corporis deprecor. Regno Numidiæ, quod vestrum est, uti lubet, consulite; me ex manibus impiorum eripite, per maiestatem imperii, per amicitiæ fidem, si ulla apud vos memoria remanet avi mei Masinissæ.

XXVII. His litteris recitatis, fuere qui exercitum in Africam mittendum censerent, & quam primum Atherbali subveniendum; de Jugurtha interim uti consuleretur, quoniam legatis non paruisset. Sed ab iisdem illis regis fautoribus summa ope enisum, ne tale decretum fieret. Ita bonum publicum, ut

justice to us, which no ways affect you. Yet now he keeps, by force of arms, a kingdom that is yours, and besieges me, whom you appointed King of the Numidians; then too how much he minded the remonstrances of your deputies, my danger sufficiently shews. What remains therefore to move him, but force on your part? For I could wish, that what I now write, and what I before complained of to you, had nothing of truth in it, rather than that my misery should gain credit to what I say. But since I was born to manifest to the world, in my person, the villainies of Jugurtha, I beg not a delivery from death or misery, but the hands of Jugurtha, and the cruel torture I must expect from him. Dispose of the kingdom of Numidia, which is yours, as you please. But I beseech you by the majesty of your mighty power, and the honour of our alliance, deliver me from those impious hands, if you have any respect for the memory of my grandfather Masinissa.

XXVII. After the reading of this letter, some were for sending an army over into Africa, and relieving Atherbal forthwith; and considering, in the mean-while, in what way to proceed against Jugurtha, for slighting their message to him. But this was strenuously opposed by such as had before favoured the cause of Jugurtha. Thus was the publick good, as it commonly falls out, baffled by private interest. However, some el-

BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. III

in plerisque negotiis solet, privata gratia devictum. Legantur tamen in Africam majores natu nobiles, amplis honoribus usi, in quibus fuit M. Scaurus, de quo supra memoravimus, consularis, & tum senati princeps. Hi, quod in invidia res erat, simul & a Numidis obsecrati, triduo navim adscendere; dein brevi Uticam adpulsi litteras ad Jugurtham mittunt, quam oxyfume ad provinciam accedat; se ad eum ab senatu misso. Ille ubi accepit homines claros, quorum auctoritatem Romæ pollere audiverat, contra inceptum suum venisse; primo commotus metu atque lubidine divorsus agitabatur. Tinebat iram senati, ni paruissest legatis; porro animus cupidine cæcus ad inceptum scelus rapiebat. Vicit tamen in avido ingenio pravum consilium. Igitur, exercitu circumdato, summa vi Cirtam irrumperem ntitur; maxime sperans, diducta manu hostium, aut vi aut dolis sese casum victoriæ inventurum. Quod ubi fecus procedit, neque, quod intenderat, efficere potest, uti prius, quam legatos conveniret, Atheralis potiretur; ne amplius morando Scau-

derly noblemen, that had run through the great offices of state, are dispatched over into Africa; amongst whom was M. Scaurus mentioned above, a Consular gentleman, and then at the head of the Senate. These gentlemen, as there was a general outcry against Jugurtha's behaviour, and the Numidians vehemently pressed them for dispatch, went aboard a ship in three days time, and arriving soon after at Utica, send a letter to Jugurtha, with orders to repair forthwith to them in the province; for that they had a message to him from the Senate. Upon finding that persons of high rank, and of very great sway at Rome, as he had been informed, were come to oppose his designs, he was much shocked, and distracted betwixt fear and a passionate desire to carry his point against Atheral. He feared the Senate's resentment, if he did not obey the commissioners; and then again, his mind blinded with ambition, burried him on to the completion of his wicked enterprise. The worse of the two things proposed to his choice, at last wrought upon his ambitious soul. Wherefore drawing his army quite round the place, he uses his utmost efforts to break into Cirta; being in great hopes, that by thus dividing the force of the enemy, he might hit upon some lucky chance for success, either by force or cunning. But miscarrying in his design of getting Atheral into his hands, before he attended the commissioners, for fear of provoking Scaurus, whom he much dreaded,

rum

rum, quem plurimum metuebat, incenderet, cum paucis equitibus in provinciam venit. Ac tametsi senati verbis minæ graves nunciabantur, quod ab oppugnatione non desisteret; multa tamen oratione consumpta, legati frustra discessere.

XXVIII. Ea postquam Cirtæ audita sunt, Italici, quorum virtute mœnia defensabantur, confisi, deditione facta, propter magnitudinem populi Romani inviolatos esse fore, Atherbali suadent, uti seque & oppidum Jugurthæ tradat; tantum ab eo vitam paciscatur; de cæteris senatu curæ fore. At ille, tametsi omnia potiora fide Jugurthæ rebatur, tamen, quia penes eosdem, si advoxaretur, cogendi potestas erat, ita, uti censuerant Italici, ditionem fecit. Igitur Jugurtha in primis Atherbalem excruciatum necat; dein omnis puberes Numidas atque negotatores promiscue, uti quisque armatus obvius fuerat, interfecit.

XXIX. Quod postquam Romæ cognitum est, & res in senatu agitari cœpta; iidem illi ministri regis, interpellando, ac sœpe gratia,

by his delay, he came, attended with a few horse, into the province. And tho' they did, in the name of the Senate, threaten him very severely, for not raising the siege, yet after a deal of wrangle upon the subject, the commissioners departed, without being able to move him in the least.

XXVIII. When the news of this was brought to Cirta, the Italians, by whom the town had been defended, supposing, in case of a surrender, that they, upon account of the Roman grandeur, should come to no damage, advise Atherbal to deliver up himself and the town to Jugurtha, articling for life only; since other matters the Senate would take care of. But, tho' he abhorred above all things the thoughts of trusting Jugurtha, yet because it was in their power, if he refused, to force him to a compliance, he did surrender, as the Italians advised him. Whereupon Jugurtha, in the first place, puts Atherbal to death with torture; and then put all the Numidians of age, and the merchants too, that appeared in arms, without distinction, to the sword.

XXIX. As soon as this was known at Rome, and the matter begun to be debated in the Senate, the same pensioners to the King, by obstructing proceedings, and spinning out the business, by their inter-

interdum jurgiis trahendo tempus, atrocitatem faciti leniebant. Ac ni C. Memmius, tribunus plebis designatus, vir acer & infestus potentiae nobilitatis, populum Romanum edocuisset, *id agi, uti per paucos factiosos Jugurtha scelus condonaretur*, profecto omnis invidia, prolatandis consultationibus, dilapsa foret. Tanta vis gratiae atque pecuniae regis erat. Sed ubi senatus delicti conscientia populum timet; lege Sempronia provinciae futuris consulibus Numidia atque Italia decretae; consules declarati P. Scipio Nasica, L. Bestia Calpurnius; Calpurnio Numidia, Scipioni Italia obvenit. Dein exercitus, qui in Africam portaretur, scribitur; stipendum, aliaque, quae bello usui forent, decernuntur.

XXX. At Jugurtha, contra spem nuncio accepto, quippe cui, Romæ omnia venire, in animo hæserat, filium & cum eo duos familiaris ad senatum legatos mittit; iisque, ut illis, quos Hiempsele imperfecto miserrat, præcipit, *omnis mortalis pecunia aggrediantur*. Qui postquam Romanum adventabant, senatus a Bestia consultus est, *placere ne legatos Ju-*

interest in the members, and wrangling together, endeavoured to lessen the odiousness of the fact. And had not C. Memmius, Tribune of the commons elect, a brisk man, and an avowed enemy to the power of the nobility, informed the Roman people, that the design was to screen Jugurtha from the punishment due to his wickedness, by the means of a few leading men, all the odium of the thing, by the dilatory proceedings of the Senate, would have vanished. Such weight had the King's interest and money together amongst them. But when the Senate, from a sense of their own guilt, begun to be apprehensive of the people's resentment, a bill was preferred to the people, and passed, whereby the provinces appointed for the succeeding Consuls, were Numidia and Italy; P. Scipio Nasica, and L. Bestia Calpurnius, were made Consuls; and Numidia fell to Calpurnius, and Italy to Scipio. Then an army was levied for Africa, money, and other things necessary for the war, voted.

XXX. But Jugurtha, surprised at the news of this, as who had been full of a persuasion, that all things were to be had for money at Rome, dispatches away his son, and two ambassadors with him, to the Senate, and orders them, as he had before done those he sent after the murder of Hiempseal, to bribe all about them, wherever they came. After their arrival at Rome, the Senate was consulted by Bestia, to know their pleasure, Whether the ambassadors of Jugurtha should be admitted into the

gurthæ recipi mœnibus; iisque decrevere, ni regnum ipsumque deditum venissent, ut in diebus proximis decem Italia decederent. Consul Numidis ex senati decreto nunciari jubet. Ita infectis rebus illi domum discedunt. Interim Calpurnius, parato exercitu, legat sibi homines nobilis, factiosos, quorum auctoritate, quæ deliquisset, munita fore sperabat; in queis fuit Scaurus, cuius de natura & habitu supra memoravimus. Nam in consule nostro multæ bonaue artes animi & corporis erant; quas omnis avaritia præpediebat. Patiens laborum, acri ingenio, satis providens, belli haud ignarus, firmissimus contra pericula & infidias. Sed legiones per Italiam Rheygium, atque inde Siciliam, porro ex Sicilia in Africam transvectæ. Igitur Calpurnius, initio paratis commeatibus, acriter Numidiam ingressus est; multosque mortalis & urbis aliquot pugnando cepit.

XXXI. Sed ubi Jugurtha per legatos pecunia tentare, bellique, quod administrabat, asperitatem ostendere cœpit; animus æger avaritia facile conversus est. Cæterum socius & administer

city, or no. And the Senate voted thereupon, That unless they were come to surrender both Jugurtha and his kingdom, they should be gone out of Italy in ten days time. Which, by order of the Senate, the Consul signified to the Numidians; and accordingly they went home, without doing any thing. In the mean time, Calpurnius having raised an army, chuses for his lieutenant-generals, noblemen of the greatest interest; by the authority of whom, he hoped, the crimes he proposed to commit, might pass unpunished. Amongst these was Scaurus, whose character I have given above. For our Consul had many excellent qualities, both of body and mind, the exercise whereof was much obstructed by his covetousness. He was hardy, of shrewd parts, a man of great foresight, and well-versed in the business of war, and much upon his guard against all danger and surprise. The legions were led thro' Italy to Rheygium, from thence carried over to Sicily, and from Sicily to Africa. Where Calpurnius providing his army, in the first place, with all necessaries, very briskly enter'd Numidia, took abundance of prisoners, and several cities sword in hand.

XXXI. But after Jugurtha begun by his messengers to lay the money-bait in his way, and to make him sensible of the difficulty of the war, his mind, overrun with the distemper of covetousness, began to faulter. Scaurus he made his partner and assistant in all his meani-

omnium consiliorum assumitur Scaurus; qui tametsi a principio, plerisque ex factione ejus corruptis, acerrume regem impugnaverat; tamen, magnitudine pecuniae, a bono honestoque in pravum abstractus est. Sed Jugurtha primum tantummodo belli moram redimebat, existuans se se aliquid interim Romae pretio aut gratia effectum. Postea vero, quam participem negotii Scaurum accepit, in maxumam spem adductus recuperandæ pacis, statuit cum eis de omnibus pactionibus præsens agere. Cæterum interea fidei caussa mittitur a consule Sextius quæstor in oppidum Jugurthæ Vaccam; cuius rei specimen erat acceptio frumenti, quod Calpurnius palam legatis imperaverat; quoniam deditioñis mora induciae agitabantur. Igitur rex, uti constituerat, in castra venit; ac pauca præsenti concilio locutus de invidia facti sui, atque ut in deditioñem acciperetur, reliqua cum Bestia & Scauro secreta transfigit; dein postero die, quasi per faturam sententiis exquisitis, in deditioñem accipitur. Sed, uti pro concilio imperatum erat, elephanti xxx. pecus atque

sures; who tho' at first, when most of his party had been corrupted, he had violently opposed the King; yet was he at last driven, by the dint of hard bribery, from his integrity, to patronize the wickedness of Jugurtha; who at first purchased only a suspension of the war, in hopes to carry his point, in the mean time, at Rome, by bribery or interest. But when he found Scaurus was engaged in his favour, in strong confidence of compassing a peace, he resolved to enter into a personal treaty with them, in relation to all concerns whatever. But in the mean time, Sextius the Quæstor is dispatched, by way of security, into a town of Jugurtha, called Vacca, under pretence of receiving corn, which Calpurnius had ordered the deputies to provide for his army; because there was now a truce, in order to Jugurtha's making a surrender of himself. Wherefore the King, according to his appointment, came into the camp. And after he had spoke very briefly, with relation to the odium his late conduct had brought upon him, in the hearing of a council of war, and desired he might be admitted to an honourable surrender, he treated with Bestia and Scaurus in private about their other affairs; and then the day after, the opinion of the council, as to divers particulars, being taken together, and in a hurry, he is admitted to a surrender. But, agreeably to what had been enjoined him, in the presence of the council, thirty elephants, some cattle, and abundance of horses, with equi

equi multi, cum parvo
argenti pondere, quæstori
traduntur. Calpurnius
Romam ad magistratus
rogandos proficiscitur. In
Numidia & exercitu no-
stro pax agitabatur.

XXXII. Postquam res
in Africa gestas, quoque
modo actæ forent, fama
divulgavit; Romæ per
omnis locos & conventus
de facto consulis agitari.
Apud plebem gravis invi-
dia; patres solliciti erant;
probarentne tantum flagi-
tium, an decretum con-
sul is subverterent, parum
constabat. Ac maxume
eos potentia Scauri, quod
is auctor & socius Bestiæ
ferebatur, a vero bonoque
impediebat. At C. Mem-
mius, cuius de libertate
ingenii, & odio potentiae
nobilitatis supra diximus,
inter dubitationem &
moras senati, concionibus
populum ad vindicandum
hortari, monere, ne rem-
publicam, ne libertatem
fiuam desererent; multa
superba, & crudelia faci-
nora nobilitatis ostende-
re; prorsus intentus omni
modo plebis animum ac-
cendebat. Sed, quoniam
ea tempestate Romæ
Memmi facundia clara
pollensque fuit, decere
existumavi unam ex tam
multis orationem ejus
perscribere; ac potissimum
ea dicam, quæ in

a small quantity of silver, are de-
livered up to the Quæstor. Cal-
purnius goes to Rome, to preside
in the election of new magistrates;
whilst all was now quiet in Numi-
dia, and our army.

XXXII. When common fame
had now divulged the transactions
in Africa, with the manner of
them, the behaviour of the Consul
was the subject of much conver-
sation, in all places and companies
at Rome. The commons were hugely
incensed at the business; and the
Senate in great perplexity. They
knew not whether they should ra-
tify so vile a piece of conduct, or
make void all that had been resol-
ved on by the Consul. What chiefly
diverted them from the pursuit of
right and justice in the case, was
the power of Scaurus, who was
said to have encouraged and sup-
ported Bestia in the design. But
C. Memmius, concerning whose
boldness, and spight to the nobility,
we have spoke above, during the
doubts and delays of the Senate,
did, by several harangues, exhort
the people to punish the misbehavi-
our of the Consul, and admonished
them not to desert the cause of
the publick, and their own liberty.
He gave many instances of the in-
solent and cruel behaviour of the
nobility; and did, with the utmost
application, endeavour to spirit up
the commons against them. And,
because at that time he bore a
mighty character at Rome for elo-
quence, I have thought it would
not be amiss, to present the reader
with one of the many speeches he

CON-

BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 117

concione, post redditum
Bestiæ, hujuscemodi ver-
bis differuit.

XXXIII. *Multa me
dehortantur a vobis. Quiri-
tes, ni studium reipub-
licæ omnia superet; opes
factionis, vestra patientia,
jus nullum; ac max-
ume, quod innocentia plus
periculi, quam honoris,
est. Nam illa quidem
piget dicere, his annis
xv. quam ludibrio fueri-
tis superbæ paucorum;
quam fæde, quamque in-
ulti perierint vestri de-
fensores; uti vobis animus
ab ignavia atque socordia
corruptus sit; qui ne
nunc quidem obnoxios ini-
micis, exsurgitis; atque
etiam nunc timetis eos,
quibus vos decet terrori
esse. Sed quamquam hæc
talia sunt; tamen obviam
ire factionis potentiaæ
animus subigit. Certe ego
libertatem, quæ mihi a
parente meo tradita est,
experiari; verum id fru-
stra, an ob rem faciam,
in vestra manu situm est,
Quirites.*

XXXIV. *Neque ego
vos hortor, quod sæpe ma-
iores vestri fecere, uti
contra injurias armati
eatis. Nihil vi, nihil
secessione opus est. Necesse
est, suomet ipsi more præ-*

*made on this occasion; that I mean,
which he made in an assembly of
the people, after the return of
Bestia, in the following words.*

XXXIII. Many things would discourage me from applying to you, as I now do, gentlemen, did not a regard for the good of the publick prevail with me above all other considerations. The things I mean, are, the power of the faction of the nobles, your tame submission, and want of authority; and above all, that innocence is now attended with more danger, than honour. For it is really irksome to me to remind you, how insolently you have been treated by some great men for these fifteen years last, and how basely the patrons of your cause were taken off, without the least punishment inflicted upon those that were guilty of it; as also what a mean dastardly spirit you shew, who stir not in your own defence, even now when your enemies are at your mercy; and are afraid of those, to whom you ought to be a terour. But tho' matters be thus, yet I am determined to make a stand against the power of the faction. I will try at least, the liberty that has been left me by my father; but whether that my endeavour shall be attended with success, or not, must depend entirely upon you, gentlemen.

XXXIV. Yet do I not advise you to what your forefathers often did, that is, to do yourselves justice by force of arms. No, there is no occasion for violence, or leaving the town. They must needs be ruined by their own way

cipites eant. Occiso Ti.
Graccho, quem regnum
parare ojebant, in ple-
bem Romanam quæstiones
graves habite sunt. Post
G. Gracchi & M. Fulvii
cædem, item ordinis ve-
stri multi mortales in car-
cere necati sunt. Utrius-
que cladis non less, verum
lubido eorum finem fecit.
Sed sana fuerit regni pa-
ratio, plebi jura sua re-
stituere. Quidquid sine
sanguine civium ulcisci
nequitur, jure factum sit.
Superioribus annis taciti
indignabamini ararium
expilari; reges & populos
liberos paucis nobilibus
vectigal pendere; penes
eosdem & summam glori-
am, & maximas divitias
esse. Tamen hæc talia fa-
cinora impune suscepisse,
parum habuere; itaque
postremo leges, majestas
vestra, divina & humana
omnia hostibus tradita
sunt. Neque eos, qui ea
fecere, pudet aut paenitet;
sed incedunt per ora
vestra magnifici, sacerdo-
tia, & consulatus, pars
triumphos suos ostentan-
tes; perinde quasi ea ho-
nori, non præda, habeant.
Servi ære parati
injusta imperia dominorum
non perferunt; vos,
Quirites, imperio nati,
æquo animo servitutem
toleratis? At qui sunt
bi, qui rem publicam oc-

of proceeding. After Tiberius Gracchus was slain, whom they charged with a design upon the sovereignty, there was terrible execution done upon the commons of Rome. After the murder of C. Gracchus and M. Fulvius, a great many persons of your rank were put to death in prison. Nor was an end put to those violent proceedings by law; but the humour only of those that were guilty thereof. But let the attempt to restore the commons to their right pass for a design to seize the government. Let whatever cannot be punished without shedding the blood of our fellow-citizens, be warrantably so done. For some years past, tho' you said nothing, yet you were full of indignation, to see the treasury robbed, Kings and free nations pay taxes to a few of the nobility, who lived in the greatest height of glory and plenty. Nor did it suffice them to go unpunished for such strange conduct; and therefore at last your laws, majesty, and all things divine and human, were betrayed into the hands of your enemies. Nor are the persons guilty of this treason, ashamed of, or sorry for it; but strut in the most stately manner before your eyes, priding themselves in their sacred dignities, consulships, and triumphs, as if they valued them only for the honour arising from them, and not for the convenience they thereby had of robbing the publick. Slaves bought with money, refuse to submit to the unreasonable insolence of their masters; and do you, gen-
cupa-

cupavere? Homines sceleratissimi, cruentis manibus, immanni avaritia, nocentissimi, idemque superbissimi; quibus fides, decus, pietas, postremo honesta atque inhonesta omnia quæstui sunt. Pars eorum occidisse tribunos plebis, alii questiones injustas, plerique cædem invos facisse, pro munimento habent. Ita, quam quisque pessime fecit, tam maxime tutus est. Metum a scelere suo ad ignaviam vestram transfuleret; quos omnis eadem cupere, eadem odire, eadem metuere in unum coegit. Sed hæc inter bonos amicitia, inter malos factio est.

hating, and fearing the same things. And this union amongst good men is friendship, but amongst the wicked, faction.

XXXV. Quod si vos tam libertatis curam haberetis, quam illi ad dominationem accensi sunt; profetto neque respublica, sicuti nunc, vastaretur; & beneficia vestra penes optimos, non audacissimos, forent. Majores vestri, parandi juris, & majestatis constituendæ gratia, bis per secessionem armati Aventinum occupavere. Vos pro libertate, quam ab illis accepistis, nonne summa ope nitimenti? atque eo vehementius, quo majus dedecus est, parta amittere, quam

lemen, who were born to dominion, endure to be enslaved with patience? But who are these that have got the management of affairs into their hands? The most wicked, bloody, avaricious, pernicious, insolent wretches, who carry faith, honour, piety, and, in short, every thing honourable, or otherwise, to market. Some have secured themselves by murdering your Tribunes, others by unjust prosecutions, and others again by the murder of many amongst yourselves. And thus the worse any man behaves himself, the safer he is. And instead of their fearing you, lest you should punish them for their wickedness, you are so base-spirited, as to be afraid of them; who are united amongst themselves by the conformity of their dispositions, as all coveting,

XXXV. But if you had only as great a concern for the preservation of your liberty, as they have to acquire a despotic power over you, the publick would not be so wretchedly abused, and your favours would fall upon the best, and not the most audacious, of men. Your forefathers twice left the town in arms, and possessed themselves of the Aventine mount, in order to assert their right, and establish their authority. And will not you exert your utmost endeavours in defence of the liberty you have received from them? and the more so, the more shame it is, to lose what has been once got, than never to have acquired it at

omni-

omnino non paravisse?
Dicet aliquis, quid igitur censes? Vindicandum in eos, qui hosti prodidere rempublicam, non manu, neque vi (quod magis vos fecisse, quam illis accidisse, indignum est) verum questionibus & in-dicio ipsius Jugurthæ.
Qui si dedititius est, profecto jussis vestris obediens erit; sin ea contemnit; scilicet aestumabitis, qualis illa pax aut deditio sit, ex qua ad Jugurtham scelerum impunitas, ad paucos potentis maxima divitiae, in rempublicam damna atque dedecora pervenerint. Nisi forte nondum etiam vos dominationis eorum satietas tenet; & illa, quam hæc tempora, magis placent; cum regna, provinciæ, leges, jura, judicia, bella atque paces, postremo divina & humana omnia penes paucos erant; vos autem, hoc est, populus Romanus, invicti ab hostibus, imperatores omnium gentium, satis habebatis animam retinere. Nam servitutem quidem quis vestrum audebat recusare? Atque ego, tametsi flagitiosissimum existimo impune injuriam accepisse; tamen vos hominibus sceleratissimis ignorascere, quoniam cives sunt, æquo animo paterer, effet.

all. Some perhaps may ask, what I would have done then? To which I answer, that I would have those punished, who have betrayed the republick to the enemy, yet not in the way of violence or force; which how much soever they may have deserved at your hands, yet would be a part unworthy of you to act. No, the way I would have you to proceed in, is that of a legal prosecution, and the evidence of Jugurtha himself. Who, if he has surrendered in good earnest, will be obedient to your orders. But if he flight them, you may thereby judge what kind of peace and submission that is, by virtue whereof Jugurtha is to reap impunity for all his crimes, a few great men immense riches, and the republick nothing but los and disgrace. Unless you are not even yet weary of their tyranny, and those times please you best, when kingdoms, the provinces, laws, courts, war and peace, and, in short, all things whatever, both divine and human, were at the disposal of a few great men: Whilst you the Roman people, the invincible Lords of the world, were content with life alone. For which of you durst refuse the yoke? And yet, tho' I think it highly dishonourable for a man to bear ill usage with a tame submission, I could be content you should pardon those wicked wretches, because they are your fellow-citizens, if your compassion to them would not end in your own destruction.

ni misericordia in perniciem casura
 XXXVII.

BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 121

XXXVI. *Nam & illis, quantum importunitatis habent, parum est impune male fecisse, nisi deinde faciundi licentia eripitur; & vobis æterna sollicitudo remanebit, cum intellegeatis, aut serviendum esse, aut per manus libertatem retinendam.* Nam fidei quidem aut concordiaæ quæ spes est? *Dominari illi volunt, vos liberi esse; facere illi injurias, vos prohibere.* Postremo sociis vestris veluti hostibus, hostibus pro sociis utuntur. *Potestne in tam diuersis mentibus pax aut amicitia esse?* Quare moneo hortorque vos, ne tantum scelus impunitum dimittatis. Non peculatus ærarii factus est; neque per vim sociis eruptæ pecuniae; quæ, quamquam gravia sunt, tamen consuetudine jam pro nibilo habentur. *Hastacerrumo prodita senati auctoritas, proditum imperium vestrum; domi militiaeque respublica venalis fuit.* Quæ nisi quæsta erunt, nisi vindicatum in noxiis, quid erit reliquum, nisi ut illis, quia ea fecere, obedientes vivamus? *Nam impune quælibet facere, id est regem esse.* Neque ego vos, Quirites, hortor, uti jam malitis civis vestros perperam, quam rec-

XXXXVI. But so violent is their inclination to mischief, that the letting them go unpunished for past crimes will avail you nothing, unless the power of committing the like be taken from them for the future; and you must live in perpetual anxiety, when you find yourselves under a necessity of being slaves, or maintaining your liberty by force of arms. For what hope is there of preserving faith or concord amongst us? They are desirous to lord it over you at pleasure, you to be free; they to do mischief, you to hinder it. Finally, they use your allies as enemies, your enemies as allies. Can there be any peace or friendship in minds so differently disposed? Wherefore I advise and beseech you, not to let such villainy go unpunished. The case now before you is not that of robbing the treasury, or oppressing your allies, which tho' very grievous things, yet are grown so fashionable, that they pass for trifles only. The authority of the Senate, and your mighty power, have been betrayed to your most virulent enemy; and the commonwealth set to sale both at home and abroad. And unless strict enquiry be made into this misconduct, and the guilty be punished, what will be left for us, but to live in a slavish subjection to the villains? For to do with impunity whatsoever a man pleases, is to be a King. I would not hereby be thought to encourage you to wish your fellow-citizens may be rather found guilty, than innocent; but only not to pardon

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te,

te, fecisse; sed ne ignoscendo malis, bonds perditum eatis. Ad hoc, in republica multo præstat, beneficii, quam maleficii, immemorrem esse. Bonus tantummodo segnior fit, ubi negligas; at malus improbior. Ad hoc, si injuriæ non sint, haud sæpe auxiliū egeas.

XXXVII. Hæc atque alia hujuscemodi sæpe dicundo, C. Memmius populo Romano persuadet, uti L. Caffius, qui tum prætor erat, ad Jugurtham mitteretur; eumque, interposita fide publica, Romam duceret; quo facilius indicio regis, Scauri, & reliquorum, quos pecuniæ captæ arcerebant, delicta patierent. Dum hæc Romæ geruntur, qui in Numidia relictæ ab Bestia exercitui præerant, secuti morem imperatoris sui, plurima & flagitiofissuma facinora fecere. Fuere, qui auro corrupti elephantes Jugurthæ tradarent; alii perfugas vendrēnt; pars ex pacatis prædas agebant. Tanta avaritia in animos eorum, veluti tabes, invaserat. At Caffius prætor, perlata rogatione a C. Memmio, ac perculta omni nobilitate, ad Jugurtham proficiuntur;

such as shall really appear guilty, to the ruin of the innocent. Besides, in the administration of the government, it is better to forget a kindness done the publick, than an offence committed against it. The good man only becomes less inclined to serve his country, if you overlook him; but the wicked becomes still worse. Besides, if no wickedness be acted against the state, you seldom want assistance.

XXXVII. *By frequently haranguing the people in this strain, Memmius persuades them to send L. Caffius, at that time Prætor, to Jugurtha, to bring him to Rome upon the publick faith, in order to use him as an evidence against Scaurus, and the rest, who were charged with taking his money. Whilst these things are doing at Rome, they who were left by Bestia with the command of the army in Numidia, following the example of their general, were guilty of a great deal of very scandalous behaviour. Some were bribed to return Jugurtha his elephants, others to sell him deserters, others again plunder'd the country that was at peace with us. To such a degree had covetousness, like the plague, infected their minds. But Caffius the Prætor, upon passing of the bill preferred by Memmius, to the great consternation of all the nobility, goes over to Jugurtha, and persuades him being sorely frightened, and from a sense of his guilt looking upon his case as desperate, Since he had submitted to the Roman people, not to make tryal of their power, rather than*

eique

eique timido, & ex conscientia diffidenti rebus suis, persuadet, quoniam se populo Romano dedidisset, ne vim, quam misericordiam ejus, experiri malit. Privatum præterea fidem suam interponit, quam ille non minoris, quam publicam, ducebat. Talis ea tempestate fama de Cassio erat.

XXXVIII. Igitur Jugurtha, contra decus regium, cultu quam maxime miserabili cum Cassio Romam venit. At, tametsi in ipso magna vis animi erat, confirmatus ab omnibus, quorum potentia aut scelere cuncta ea gesserat, quæ supra memoravimus, C. Bæbius tribunum plebis magna mercede parat, cuius impudenteria contra jus & injurias omnis munitus foret. At C. Memmius, advocata concione, (quamquam regi infesta plebes erat, & pars in vincula duci jubebat, pars, ni socios scelestis aperiret, more majorum de hoste supplicium sumi) dignitati magis, quam iræ, consulens, sedare motus, & animos eorum mollire; postremo confirmare, fidem publicam per se inviolatam fore. Post, ubi silentium coepit, producto Jugurtha, verba facit; Romæ Numidiæque facinora ejus memorat, sclera in patrem fratresque ostendit; quibus ju-

their clemency. Besides, he privately engaged his own faith in his behalf, which the other valued as much as the publick faith itself. So excellent a character had Cassius at that time.

XXXVIII. Wherefore Jugurtha comes along with Cassius to Rome, with a very sorry equipage, much below the dignity of a prince. And tho' he had a good heart upon the matter, being encouraged by all, by whose power and roguery he had been supported in his wicked management, above related; yet he prevails with C. Bæbius, Tribune of the commons, by an immense bribe, to employ all his impudence, in order to protect him against right, and all manner of ill usage. But C. Memmius summoning the people together, altho' they were much enraged against the King, and some were for clapping him in jail, and others for punishing him capitally, according to the ancient Roman usage, unless he discovered those concerned with him in his wickedness; yet Memmius, I say, having a regard to what honour required, rather than what passion directed, endeavoured to allay their heat, and mollify them; declaring finally, that he however would have no hand in the violation of the publick faith. And at last, when silence was obtained, Jugurtha being brought before the assembly, he spoke, and recounted all his pranks at Rome, and in Nu-

vantibus, quibusque ministris ea egerit, quamquam intelligat populus Romanus, tamen velle manifesta magis ex illo habere; si verum aperiat, in fide & clementia populi Romani magnam spem illi sitam; sin reticeat, non sociis saluti fore, sed se suaque spes corrupturum. Dein ubi Memmius dicens finem fecit, & Jugurtha respondere jussus est, C. Bæbius tribunus plebis, quem pecunia corruptum suprà diximus, regem tacere jubet. Ac, tametsi multitudo, quæ in concione aderat, vehe- menter accensa, terrebat eum clamore, vultu, saepe impetu, atque aliis omnibus, quæ ira fieri amat, vicit tamen impudentia. Ita populus, ludibrio habitus, ex concione discedit. Jugurthæ, Bestiæque, & cæteris, quos illa quæstio exagitabat, ani- mi augescunt.

midia ; set forth his wicked behaviour towards his father, and his brothers ; and gave him to understand, that tho' the Roman people knew by whose assistance and support he had done all those things, yet they had a mind to have a more full discovery of the same from himself, which if he would truly and faithfully make, he might depend upon the honour and clemency of the Roman people ; but if not, he would do his friends no service, and would moreover blast all his own hopes entirely. When Memmius had done speaking, and Jugurtha was ordered to reply, C. Bæbius, Tribune of the commons, who had been secured by a good bribe, as I took notice above, commands the King to hold his tongue. And tho' the people there assembled were mightily incensed, and did by shouts, angry looks, and violence too very often, and all other means that passion dictates, endeavour to deter him from his purpose, yet his impudence prevailed. The people being thus fooled, broke up and departed. Jugurtha, Bestia, and the rest of them, against whom this enquiry was pointed, took heart upon it.

XXXIX. Erat ea
tempestate Romæ Nu-
mida quidam, nomine
Massiva, Gulussæ filius,
Masinissæ nepos; qui quia
in dissensione regum, Ju-
gurthæ adversus fuerat,
dedita Cirta, & Atherbale
interfecto, profugus ex
Africa abierat. Huic Sp.
Albinus, qui proximo

XXXIX. There was at that time a certain Numidian at Rome, by name Massiva, the son of Gulussa, and grandson of Masinissa, who, because in the quarrel betwixt the two Kings, he had been against Jugurtha, when Cirta was surrendered, and Atherbal put to death, had fled out of Africa. Sp. Albinus, who the next year after Bestia, was Consul with Q. Mi-

anno post Bestiam cum Q. Minucio Ruso consulatum gerebat, persuadet, quoniam ex stirpe Mafinissæ sit, Jugurtham ob sclera invidia cum metu urgeat, regnum Numidiæ ab senatu petat. Avidus consul belli gerundi, moveri, quam senescere, omnia malebat. Ipsi provincia Numidia, Minucio Macedonia evenerat. Quæ postquam Massiva agitare cœpit; neque Jugurthæ in amicis satis præsidii est; quod eorum alium conscientia, alium mala fama & timor animi impeditiebat; Bomilcar proxumo ac maxume fido fibi imperat, precio, sicuti multa confecerat, infidiatores Massivæ parer; ac maxume occulte; fin id parum procedat, quovis modo Numidam interficiat. Bomilcar mature regis mandata exsequitur; &, per homines talis negotii artifices, itinera egressusque ejus, postremo loca, atque tempora cuncta explorat; dein, ubi res postulabat, infidias tendit. Igitur unus ex eo numero, qui ad cædem parati erant, paullo inconsultius Massivam aggreditur, illum obtruncat; sed ipse deprehensus, multis hortantibus, & in primis Albino consule, iudicium profitetur. Fit

nucius Rufus, persuades him, since he was descended from Mafinissa, to aggravate the odiousness of Jugurtha's crimes, and alarm him with fears, by making his suit to the Senate for the kingdom of Numidia. The Consul being vastly desirous of having the war continued under his command, was for kindling a new flame, rather than have the old one die away. He had got by lot the province of Numidia, Minucius Macedonia. When Massiva begun to stir in the business, Jugurtha being not able to depend upon the protection of his friends, because some were discouraged from meddling further in his behalf, by a sense of their guilt; others by suspicions conceived of them, and their fears together, orders Bomilcar, a very near relation, and heartily in his interest, to go to work in a way, wherein he had carried many of his points, and hire some persons to take off Massiva, and privately, if possible; but if that should not be found feasible, by any way or means whatever. Bomilcar quickly puts the King's orders in execution; and by men well versed in such sort of work, watches all his motions and haunts; and when the matter seemed ripe for it, lays his plot. One of the rogues engaged in the design, falls upon Massiva, and kills him, but in so unguarded a manner, that he was immediately apprehended; and being urged by many, and especially Albinus the Consul, to confess who set him on work, he did so. Bomilcar was prosecuted upon it, more

reus magis ex æquo bonoque, quam ex jure gentium Bomilcar, comes ejus, qui Romam fide publica venerat. At Jugurtha, manifestus tanti sceleris, non prius omisit contra verum niti, quam animadvertisit, super gratiam atque pecuniam suam invidiam facti esse. Igitur, quamquam in priore actione ex amicis quinquaginta vades dederat, regno magis quam vadibus, consulens, clam in Numidiam Bomilcarum dimittit; veritus, ne reliquos popularis metus invaderet parendi sibi, si de illo supplicium sumptum foret. Et ipse paucis diebus eodem profectus est, iussus a senatu Italia decedere. Sed postquam Roma egressus est, tertur, saepē tacitus eo respiciens, postremo dixisse, *Urbem venalem, & mature peritaram, si emptorem invenerit.*

XL. Interim Albinus, renovato bello, commeatum, stipendum, aliaque, quæ militibus usui forent, maturat in Africam portare; ac statim ipse profectus, ut ante comitia, quod tempus haud longe aberat, armis, aut deditione, aut quovis modo bellum conficeret. At contra Jugurtha trahere omnia, & alias, de-

agreeably to the law of natural justice, than that of nations, as being one of the retinue of Jugurtha, who had come to Rome upon the publick faith. But Jugurtha, tho' manifestly guilty of so villainous a fact, did not give over facing down the truth, 'till he perceived the odium of the thing was quite too hard for all his interest and money together. And therefore, tho' in the first action he had given fifty of his friends as bail for Bomilcar's appearance, yet being more concerned for the preservation of his kingdom, than his bail, he sends him off privately into Numidia, fearing lest the rest of his subjects should be afraid of obeying him, if he should be punished. And in a few days after he went away himself, being ordered by the Senate to depart out of Italy. It is reported of him, that after he was got out of Rome, he frequently look'd back, without saying any thing; but at last broke out into these words, that the city was to be sold, and would soon be ruined, if it did but meet with a chapman.

XL. The war being now revived, Albinus makes haste to transport into Africa provisions, money, and other necessaries for the army, and went forthwith himself, that he might by force of arms, the surrender of Jugurtha, or by any other means, dispatch the war before the election, which was not very far off. But on the other hand, Jugurtha endeavoured to spin out the time, and contrived divers means for that purpose. He inde

inde alias moræ cauſas facere; polliceri deditio- nem, ac deinde metum ſimulare; instanti cedere, & paullo post, ne ſui diſſiderent, initare; ita belli modo, modo pacis mora conſulem ludificare. Ac fuere, qui tum Albi- num haud ignarum conſili regis exiſtumarent; neque ex tanta properan- tia tam facile tractum bel- lum ſocordia magis, quam dolo, crederent.

XLI. Sed poſtquam, dilapo tempore, comi- torum dies adventabat; Albinus, Aulo fratre in caſtris proprætore relictō, Romam deceſſit. Ea tempeſtate Romæ ſeditio- nibus tribuniciis atrociter reſpublica agitatabantur. P. Lucullus & L. Annius tribuni plebis, reſiſtentibus collegis, continuare maſtratum nitabantur; quæ diſſenſio totius anni comitia impediēbat. Ea mora in ſpem adductus Aulus, quem propræto- rem in caſtris relictum ſu- pra diximus, aut conficiundi belli, aut terrore ex- ercitus ab rege pecuniae capiundæ, milites mense Januario ex hibernis in expeditionem evocat; magnisque itineribus hie- me aspera peruenit ad oppidum Suthul, ubi re- gis theſauri erant. Quod

promised to ſurrender, and then quickly excused himſelf, under pre- tence of apprehending ill uſage. When the enemy puſhed him, he fled; and presently, for fear of discouraging his men, came briskly on again. And thus did he beſtool the Conſul, one while by pretenſions of war, and another while those of peace. There were ſome at that time, who did believe that Albinus was no stranger to the King's purpose, and that after ſo much hafe, the war was not pro- tracted from careleſſneſs, but de- sign.

XLI. But the time being now elapſed, and the day of election at hand, Albinus leaves his brother Aulus to ſupply his place in the camp, and goes to Rome. At that time the commonwealth was put into great convulſions by ſome broils among the Tribunes. P. Lucullus, and L. Annius, Tribunes of the commons, pretended to ſtand candidates for the office the next year too, wherein they were oppo- ſed by all their colleagues; which diſpute kept off all the other elec- tions likewiſe. Upon occaſion of this delay, Aulus, who, as we have just ſaid, had been left Proprætor in the camp, being put in hopes of either finishing the war, or extort- ing money out of the King, by the terrore of his army, draws his ſoldiers, in the month of january, out of their winter-quarters upon an expedition, and came by great marches, in a ſevere ſeaſon, to the town of Suthul, where all the King's treasure lay. Which, tho' it could not be either taken, or be- quam-

quamquam, & saevitia temporis, & opportunitate loci, neque capi neque ob sideri poterat, (nam circum murum situm in praerupti montis extremo planicies limosa hiemalibus aquis paludem fecerat) tamen, aut simulandi gratia, quo regi formidinem adderet, aut cupidine cæcus, ob thefauros oppidi potiundi, vineas agere, aggerem jacere, aliaque, quæ incepto usui forent, properare.

XLII. At Jugurtha, cognita vanitate atque imperitia legati, subdolus ejus augere amentiam; missitare supplicantis legatos; ipse, quasi vitabundus, per faltuosa loca & tramites exercitum ductare. Denique Aulum spe pactionis perpulit, uti, relicto Suthule, in abditas regiones sese, veluti cedentem insequeretur; ita delicta occultiora fore. Interea per homines calidos diu noctuque exercitum tentabat. Centuriones, ducisque turmarum partim, uti transfugerent, corrumpere; alii, signo dato, locum uti deserent. Quæ postquam ex sententia instruxit; intempesta nocte de improviso multitudine Numidarum Auli castra circumvenit. Milites Ro-

sieged, by reason of the sharpness of the weather, and the natural strength of the place; for there was a perfect marsh made by the winter's rains quite round the wall, built upon the extremity of a craggy mountain; yet either by way of feint, to fright the King, or blinded with a greedy desire of taking the town, for the booty that was in it, he began to form vineæ, to cast up a mount, and make other necessary preparations for an assault upon the place.

XLII. But when Jugurtha found out the weakness and unskilfulness of the lieutenant, he craftily contrived how to improve his madnes. He would frequently send deputies with very submissive messages, and he himself, as if on purpose to keep out of his way, would often lead his army through woody parts of the country, and by-roads. Finally, he tempted Aulus, by the hopes of a good bargain, to quit Suthul, and follow him into a lonely part of the country, as if he was flying before him, but in reality the better to conceal their vile pranks. In the mean time, he was day and night tampering with the army, by some cunning agents. Some centurions, and officers of horse, he bribed to desert to him, and others to quit their posts, when the signal was given. After he had thus made such preparations as he thought proper, very unexpectedly, in the dead of the night, he encloses Aulus's camp quite round,

mans

mani perculsi tumultu insolito, arma capere alii; alii se abdere; pars territos confirmare; trepidare omnibus locis; vis magna hostium; cælum nocte atque nubibus obscuratum; periculum anceps; postremo, fugere, an manere, tutius foret, in incerto erat. Sed ex eo numero, quos paullo ante corruptos diximus, cohors una Ligurum, cum duabus turmis Thracum, & paucis gregariis militibus, transfiere ad regem; & centurio primi pili tertiae legionis per munitionem, quam, uti defenseret, acceperat, locum hostibus introeundi dedit; eaque Numidæ cuncti irrupere. Nostris fœda fuga, plerique abjectis armis, proximum collem occupavere. Nox atque præda castorum hoitis, quo minus victoria uterentur, remorata sunt. Deinde Jugurtha postero die cum Aulo in colloquio verbâ facit; tametsi ipsum cum exercitu fame ferroque clausum tenet, tamen se, memorem rerum humanarum, si secum fœdus faceret, incolumes omnis sub jugum missurum; præterea, uti diebus decem Numidia decederet. Quæ gravia quamquam & flagiti plena erant; tamen, quia mortis metu mutabantur,

with a vast number of his Numidians. The Roman soldiers being alarmed with an unusual hurry about the camp, some of them took arms, others hid themselves, some endeavoured to encourage such as were frightened; great consternation there was in all places, the enemies very numerous, the night dark and cloudy, danger on all hands. Finally, it was impossible to judge whether it would be safer to fly, or stay in the camp. But of the number of those, who, I have just said, had been bribed; one battalion of Ligurians, with two troops of Thracian horse, and a few common soldiers, went over to the King. And a centurion of the first rank belonging to the third legion, gave the enemy entrance into the camp, by that part of the rampart where he was posted for it's defence, and there all the Numidians broke in. Our men by a shameful flight, and most of them throwing away their arms, got off to a neighbouring hill. Night, and the plunder of the camp hindered the enemy from making advantage of their victory. The next day Jugurtha, at a conference with Aulus, told him, That tho' he had him with his army in his power, distressed both by famine and sword, yet being sensible of the uncertainty of human affairs, if he would conclude a treaty with him, he would give quarter to the army, but should oblige them to pass under the yoke; and furthermore insisted upon his quitting Numidia in ten days. And tho' the terms were hard and scandalous, yet the fear of death made

R

sicuti

sicuti regi lubuerat, pax
convenit.

XLIII. Sed, ubi ea Romæ comperta sunt, metus atque mœror civitatem invasere. Pars dolere pro gloria imperii; pars insolita rerum belli-carum timere libertati; Aulus omnes infesti, ac maxime qui bello saepe præclarri fuerant, quod armatus dedecore potius, quam manu, salutem quæsiverit. Obea consul Albinus, ex delicto fratris invidiam, ac deinde periculum timens, senatum de fœdere consulebat; & tamen interim exercitui supplementum scribere; ab sociis & nomine Latino auxilia accersere; denique omnibus modis festinare. Senatus ita, uti par fuerat, decernit, suo atque populi injusu nullum potuisse fœdus fieri. Consul, impeditus a tribunis plebis, ne, quas paraverat copias, secum portaret, paucis diebus in Africam proficiscitur. Nam omnis exercitus, uti convenerat, Numidia deductus in provincia hibernabat. Postquam eo venit (quamquam perse qui Jugurtham, & mederi fraternæ invidiae animo ardebat) cognitis militibus, quos præter fugam, soluto imperio, licentia

them go down, and a peace was accordingly concluded upon the conditions offered by the King.

XLIII. As soon as the news of all this was carried to Rome, the city was full of fear and sorrow both. Some were concerned for the honour of the empire; others, unacquainted with the business of war, thought their liberty in danger. All people were in a rage at Aulus, but principally those, who had often distinguished themselves by their gallant behaviour in the wars, that he, when he had arms in his hand, should save himself by an infamous submission, without striking a stroke. Upon this the Consul Albinus being apprehensive, from the ill behaviour of his brother, of the publick odium, and danger thereby, consulted the Senate upon the late treaty of his; and yet at the same time raised recruits for the army, and sent for auxiliary forces from the allies, and the people of Latium, and that with all possible expedition. The Senate, as it was fit they should, voted, That no valid treaty could be concluded, without theirs, and the people's authority for it. The Consul being not suffered by the Tribunes of the commons, to carry with him the troops he had raised, in a few days time went over into Africa without them. For all the army, according to the late agreement, had quitted Numidia, and wintered in the province. After his arrival, altho' he was passionately desirous to go in quest of Jugurtha, and wipe off the odium occasioned by his brother's ill atque

atque lascivia corruperat, ex copia rerum statuit, fibi nihil agitandum.

conduet; yet finding the ill state the soldiery were in, not only from their late defeat, but the want of discipline, licence, and wantonness, whereby his brother had debauched them, he resolved, considering the bad situation of affairs, to be quiet.

XLIV. Interea Romæ C. Mamilius Limetanus tribunus plebis rogationem ad populum promulgat, *uti quæreretur in eos, quorum consilio Jugurtha senati decreta neglexisset; qui ab eo in legationibus, aut imperiis pecunias accepissent; qui elephantos, qui perfugas tradidissent; item, qui de pace aut bello cum hostibus pactiones fecissent.* Huic rogationi partim consciī fibi, alii ex partium invidia pericula metuentes, quoniam aperte resistere non poterant, quin illa, & alia talia placere fibi faterentur, occulte per amicos, ac maxime per homines nominis Latini, & socios Italicos, impedimenta parabant. Sed plebes, incredibile memoratu est, quantum intenta fuerit, quantaque vi rogationem jussiterit, decreverit, voluerit; magis odio nobilitatis, cui mala illa parabantur, quam cura reipublicæ: Tanta lubido in partibus erat. Igitur, cæteris metu perculis, M. Scaurus, quem legatum Bestiæ suile supra membra-

XLIV. In the mean time at Rome, C. Mamilius Limetanus, Tribune of the commons, preferred a bill to the people, for appointing a commission of enquiry, for the tryal of all those, by whose encouragement Jugurtha had flighted the orders of the Senate; and such deputies or commanders, as had taken money of the King; such as had delivered up to him his elephants and deserters; as also those who had made any agreements with the enemy, relating to peace or war. Now such as were guilty, and others apprehensive of danger from the odium of the party they had engaged in, durst not openly oppose this bill; but pretended to be well pleased with this, and other the like proceedings; yet underhand endeavoured to hinder it's passing, by means of their friends, and especially those of Latium, and the allies of Italy. But it is incredible to say, how zealous the people were for the bill, and with what eagerness they passed it; more out of hatred to the nobility, against whom it was levelled, than out of any concern for the publick weal; so violent was the fury of the parties at that time. Wherefore, whilst all the rest were heartily frightened, M. Scaurus, who was a lieutenant-general of Bestia's, as I have above said, amidst the exultations of the common people, the

vimus,

vimus, inter lætitiam plebis & suorum fugam, trepida etiam tum civitate, cum ex Mamiliana rogatione tres quæfitores rogarentur, efficerat, ut ipse in eo numero crearetur. Sed quæstione exercita asperre violenterque, ex rumore & lubidine plebis, uti sœpe nobilitatem, sic ea tempestate plebem ex secundis rebus insolentia ceperat.

XLV. Cæterum mos partium popularium, & senati factionum, ac deinde omnium malarum artium, paucis ante annis Romæ ortus est, otio atque abundantia earum rerum, quæ prima mortales ducunt. Nam, ante Carthaginem deletam, populus & senatus Romanus placide modesteque inter se rempublicam tractabant; neque gloriæ dominationis certamen inter civis erat; metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed, ubi formido illa mentibus decellit, scilicet ea, quæ secundæ res amant, lacvia atque superbia incessere. Ita, quod in adorvis rebus optaverant, otium, postquam adepti sunt, aperius acerbiusque fuit. Namque cœpere nobilitas dignitatem, populus libertatem in lubidinem vertere; sibi quisque du-

flight of those of his party, and the distraction of the town, procured himself to be chosen one of the three commissioners appointed by Mamilius's bill. But as the commission was executed with great severity and violence, in conformity to vulgar report, and the humour of the people; these grew at that time insolent upon their success, as the nobility had often been before.

XLV. Now the party of the commons, and the factions of the Senate, with all the mischievous practices ensuing, took their rise at Rome but a few years before, from idleness, and plenty of such things as mankind are apt to set the highest value upon. For before the destruction of Carthage, the people and Senate of Rome managed their affairs jointly, in perfect harmony and moderation, without the least bickering upon account of glory and power. The fear of their enemies kept the city in good order. But when that fear was now no more, then the constant attendants upon a state of prosperity, wantonness and pride, came in fashion. Thus they had sooner attained what they had wished for, in the time of their adversity, peace, than they found the most pernicious consequences from it, and their case to be really worse than it was before. For the nobility begun to turn their power, and the people their liberty, into licentiousness. Rapine and violence now prevailed universally. And

cere,

cere, trahere, rapere. Ita omnia in duas partis abstracta sunt. Respublica, quæ media fuerat, dilacerata. Cæterum nobilitas factio magis pollebat; plebis vis soluta atque dispersa, in multitudine minus poterat; paucorum arbitrio belli domique respublica agitabatur; penes eosdem ærarium, provinciæ, magistratus, gloriæ, triumphique erant; populus militia, atque inopia urgebatur; prædas bellicas imperatores cum paucis diripiebant. Interea parentes, aut parvi liberi militum, uti quisque potentiori confiniserat, sedibus pellebantur. Ita cum potentia avaritia sine modo modestiaque invadere, polluere & vastare omnia; nihil pensi neque sancti habere, quoad semet ipsa præcipitavit. Nam, ubi primum ex nobilitate reperti sunt, qui veram gloriam injunctæ potentiae anteponenter, moveri civitas, & dissensio civilis, quasi permixtio terræ, oriri coepit.

XLVI. Nam, postquam Tiberius & C. Gracchus, quorum maiores Punico, atque aliis bellis multum reipublicæ addiderant, vindicare plebem in libertatem, & paucorum scelera patefa-

thus was the commonwealth rent into two parties, by which it was miserably torn to pieces. The faction of the nobility proved the most prevalent; that of the commons being more loose and divided, by reason of their numbers, was obliged to give ground; whereupon the management of all affairs, both in peace and war, fell into the hands of a few. They had the disposal of the treasury, provinces, places, glory, and triumphs. The populace were oppressed by service in wars and want. The generals, with a few friends, made prize of all the spoils of victory. In the mean time the parents, or the young children of the soldiers, according as they happened to be neighbours to any of the grandees, were forced from the possession of their estates. Thus did avarice, in conjunction with power, seize, ravage, and lay waste all before it, without the least regard to moderation or modesty at all; without thought or distinction, 'till it plunged itself into inextricable difficulties. For as soon as some of the nobility started up, who preferred true glory before unjust power, the city begun to be in an uproar, and civil distraction and confusion, not unlike a disjointing of the very earth itself, to arise upon it.

XLVI. For after Tiberius and C. Gracchus, whose ancestors had, in the Carthaginian and other wars, been highly serviceable to the state, begun to assert the liberties of the commons, and to expose the wickedness of the other party; the nobility being guilty, and therefore cere

cere cœpere; nobilitas noxia, atque eo perculsa, modo per socios ac nomen Latinum, interdum per equites Romanos, quos spes societatis a plebe dimoverat, Gracchorum actionibus obviam ierat; & primo Tiberium, dein paucos post annos eadem ingredientem Cajum, Tribunum plebis alterum, alterum triumvirum coloniis deducendis, cum M. Fulvio Flacco, ferro necaverat. Et sane Gracchis, cupidine victoriæ, haud satis animus moderatus fuit. Sed bono vinci satius est, quam malo more injuriam vincere. Igitur ea victoria nobilitas ex lubidine sua usq[ue]a, mortalis multos ferro aut fuga extinxit; plusque in reliquum sibi timoris, quam potentiae, addidit; quæ res plerumque magnas civitates pessum dedit; dum alteri alteros vincere quovis modo, & victos acerbius ulcisci volunt. Sed, de studiis partium, & omnibus civitatis moribus, si singillatim aut pro magnitudine parem differere, tempus, quam res, maturius deseret, quamobrem ad incœptum redeo.

XLVII. Post Auli foedus, exercitusque nostri foedam fugam, Metellus

under terrible apprehensions, did one while by our Italian allies, and those of Latium, another while by the Roman knights, whom the hopes of sharing in the spoil with them, had separated from the interest of the commons, endeavour to oppose the pretensions of the Gracchi, and killed by the sword Tiberius, and a few years after C. pursuing the same measures, the one a Tribune of the commons, and the other one of the three commissioners appointed for the planting of colonies; as also M. Fulvius Flaccus. And indeed the Gracchi, from too keen a desire of carrying their point, pushed matters too far. But a good man would rather chuse to be baffled in any cause, than carry it by ill measures. Wherefore the nobility making a most insolent use of their success in that struggle, put to death, or banished, great numbers of the commons, and rendered themselves for the future more terrible, rather than more powerful; a thing that has often proved ruinous to mighty states, whilst parties are for subduing one another at any rate, and using their victory with a vengeance upon their enemies, when they have once got them under. But should I propose to descend upon the fury of parties, and all the other corruptions of the city at large, and according to the extent of the subject, time would sooner fail me, than matter. I shall therefore again take up the thread of my history.

XLVII. After the treaty of Aulus, and the scandalous return of our army into the province, the &

& Silanus, consules designati, provincias inter se partiverant; Metelloque Numidia evenerat, acri viro, & quamquam aduerso populi partibus, fama tamen æquabili & inviolata. Is, ubi primum magistratum ingressus est, alia omnia sibi cum collega communia ratus, ad bellum, quod gesturus erat, animum intendit. Igitur diffidens veteri exercitu, milites scribere, praesidia undique accertere; arma, tela, equos, & cætera instrumenta militiae parare; ad hoc, commeatum affatim; denique omnia, quæ in bello vario, & rerum multarum egenti, usui esse solent. Cæterum ad ea patranda senatus auctoritate, socii, nomenque Latinum, & reges ultro auxilia mitendo, postremo omnis civitas summo studio adnibetur. Itaque, ex sententia omnibus rebus paratis compositisque, in Numidiam proficiscitur, magna spe civium, cum propter artis bonas, tum maxime quod ad vorsum divitias invictum animum gerebat; & avaritia magistratum ante id tempus in Numidia nostræ opes contusæ, hostiumque auctæ erant.

XLVIII. Sed, ubi in Africam venit, exercitus

Consuls elect, Metellus and Silanus, divided the provinces betwixt them by lot, and Numidia fell to Metellus, a brisk man, and tho' an enemy to the popular party, yet of a general good character, and without blemish. As soon as he entered upon his office, thinking all other things concerned his colleague as much as him, he applied himself to make preparations for the war he was to command in, as what was his proper and peculiar business. Wherefore, as he put no great confidence in the old army, he made new levies, and sent for troops from all parts, and provided arms of all sorts, horses, and other instruments of war, besides plenty of provisions; and finally, all things necessary for a war, that would require no small variety. And to help forward the business, the Senate contributed their authority, our allies and the Latins, and foreign princes too, sent in troops of their own accord; and finally, the whole city exerted itself strenuously upon the occasion. Wherefore, when now all things were prepared, and regulated, to his mind, he passes over into Numidia, whilst the Romans were now all in full expectation of success, as well because of the other excellent qualities of the general, as especially, because he had a soul invincibly fortified against the temptation of money; whereas our affairs in Africa had been ruined, and the strength of the enemy increased, by the avarice of our own commanders.

XLVIII. But after his arrival in Africa, the army of the Procon-

&

ei traditur Sp. Albini proconsulis, iners, imbellis, neque periculi, neque laboris patiens, lingua, quam manu, promptior, prædator ex sociis, & ipse præda hostium, sine imperio & modestia habitus. Ita imperatori novo plus ex malis moribus sollicitudinis, quam ex copia militum auxilii, aut bonæ spei, accedebat. Statuit tamen Metellus, (quamquam & æstivorum tempus comitiorum moraiminuerat, & exspectatione eventi civium animos intentos putabat) non prius bellum attingere, quam majorum disciplina milites laborare coegisset. Nam Albinus, Auli fratris exercitusque clade percussus, postquam decreverat non egredi provincia, quantum temporis æstivorum in imperio sicut, plerumque milites in stativis castris habebat; nisi cum odos, aut pabuli egestas, locum mutare subegerat. Sed neque more militari vigiliæ deducebantur. Utique lubebat, ab signis aberat. Lixæ permisti cum militibus diu noctuque vagabantur; & palantes agros vastare, villas expugnare, pecoris & mancipiorum prædas certantes agere; eaque mutare cum mercatoribus vino advectionis,

ful Sp. Albinus was delivered up to him, not at all disposed for action, but heartless, and neither capable of enduring danger or fatigue, much more ready with their tongues than their hands, accustomed to plunder the allies, whilst they themselves were a prey to the enemy, as being under no proper command, in no order at all. Thus the new general had more trouble with the vicious manners of the soldiers, than he had either help or hope from their numbers. However, Metellus was resolved, notwithstanding the lateness of the election had left but a short time for that year's campaign, and he did suppose that the minds of the people at Rome would wait the issue of the war with impatience, not to enter upon action, 'till he had by due discipline brought the soldiers to bear fatigue. For Albinus being quite dismayed with the late defeat of the army under the command of his brother, and resolving thereupon not to stir out of the province, kept the soldiers, during the time of his command that summer, in standing camps, which he changed not, 'till the stench of them, or the want of forage, obliged him to be gone. But neither was the watch kept, as is usual in war; and every man strolled from the camp at pleasure; and the servants, together with the soldiers, run about night and day, wasting the country, and forcing gentlemen's houses, carried off vast numbers of cattle, and slaves continually, and exchanged them with merchants for wine they brought them, and

& aliis talibus. Præterea, frumentum publice datum vendere, panem in dies mercari. Postremo, quæcumque dici aut fingi queunt ignaviæ luxuriae que probra, in illo exercitu cuncta fuere, & alia amplius.

XLIX. Sed in ea difficultate Metellum non minus, quam in rebus hostilibus, magnum & sapientem virum fuisse emperior; tanta temperantia inter ambitionem & cœvitiamque moderatum. Namque edicto primo adjumenta ignaviæ sustulisse, ne quisquam in castris panem, aut quem alium cibum coctum venderet; ne lixæ exercitum sequerentur; ne miles gregarius in castris, neve in agmine servum, aut jumentum haberet. Cæteris arte modum statuisse. Præterea, transversis itineribus quotidie castra movere; juxta ac si hostes adessent, vallo atque fossa munire; vigilias crebras ponere, & eas ipse cum legatis circuire; item in agmine in primis modo, modo in postremis, saepè in medio adesse, ne quisquam ordine egredieretur; uti cum signis frequentes incederent, milles cibum & arma portaret. Ita prohibendo a delictis magis, quam vin-

other such things. Besides, they would sell the corn allowed them by the government, and buy bread every day. In short, all the most scandalous effects of idleness and luxury, that can be mentioned or imagined, were every one of them in that army, and more too.

XLIX. But I find Metellus shewed himself as great and able a man under this difficulty, as in his conduct against the enemy; he observed so due a mean betwixt sneaking to gain the favour of his troops, and cruelty. For in the first place, he ordered out of the camp by proclamation, all the supports of idleness; as that no body should sell bread, or any other dress'd victuals, in the camp; that no fetchers of wood should follow the army, nor any common soldier have in the camp, or upon a march, a servant, or any beast of burden. And in respect of other things, was very sparing in his allowance of them. Besides, he would daily march his army, not directly forward, but to the right and left alternately, and secure his camp by a rampart and ditch, just as if an enemy was at hand; kept due watch in the same, and went the rounds himself, attended by his lieutenant-generals; and upon a march, he would sometimes be in the van, sometimes in the rear, and oftentimes in the main body, to see that no man quitted his rank, but all duly attended their own standards, and carried their own provisions and arms. Thus in a short time he infused vigour and spirit into his S dicando,

dicando, exercitum brevi
confirmavit.

L. Interea Jugurtha,
ubi, quæ Metellus age-
bat, ex nunciis accepit,
simil de innocentia ejus
certior Romæ factus, dif-
fidere suis rebus, ac tum
demum veram deditio-
nem facere conatus est.
Igitur legatos ad consu-
lem cum suppliciis mittit,
qui tantummodo ipsi li-
berisque vitam peterent,
alia omnia dederent po-
pulo Romano. Sed Me-
tello jam antea experi-
mentis cognitum erat,
genus Numidarum infi-
dum, ingenio mobili, no-
varum rerum avidum es-
se. Itaque legatos alium
ab alio diversos aggredi-
tur; ac paullatim ten-
tando, postquam oppor-
tunos sibi cognovit, mul-
ta pollicendo persuadet,
*uti Jugurtham maxime
vivum, si id parum pro-
cedat, necatum sibi trade-
rent;* cæterum palam,
quæ ex voluntate forent,
regi nunciari jubet. Dein
ipſe paucis diebus intento
atque infesto exercitu in
Numidiam procedit; ubi,
contra belli faciem, tu-
guria plena hominum,
pecora, cultoresque in
agris erant; ex oppidis &
mapalibus præfecti regis
obviam procedebant, pa-
rati frumentum dare,

*army, rather by keeping them from
the breach of orders, than punish-
ing them.*

L. In the mean time, Jugurtha being advised of what Metellus was doing, and having been informed at Rome of his integrity, begun now to despair of success in the war, and to think of making a surrender of himself in good earnest. Wherefore he dispatches messengers to the Consul, to capitulate only for the lives of himself and children, submitting every thing besides to the pleasure of the Roman people. But Metellus had before found sufficiently by experience the nation of the Numidians to be faithless, fickle, and fond of change. Wherefore he tamps with the messengers apart, and when by sifting of them, he found them for his purpose, he by large promises persuades them, to deliver up to him Jugurtha alive, if possible, but if not, dead. But openly orders them to carry an answer to the King, agreeable to his desire. And a few days after marches into Numidia with his army ready for action; where there was not the least appearance of war, the country houses being full of men, and the lands of cattle, and people at work upon their ground: the King's governors too came from the towns and cottages to meet Metellus, ready to furnish him with corn, and other provisions; and in short, to execute all his commands whatever. But Metellus notwithstanding, march'd with his army in a posture of defence, as if the enemy was comme-

commeatam portare ; postremo omnia, quæ imperarentur, facere. Neque Metellus idcirco minus, sed, pariter ac si hostes adessent, munito agmine incedere, late explorare omnia, illa dedicationis signa ostentui credere, & insidiis locum tentare. Itaque ipse cum expeditis cohortibus, item funditorum & sagittariorum delecta manu apud primos erat. In postremo C. Marius legatus cum equitibus curabat. In utrumque latus equites auxiliarios tribunis legionum & praefectis cohortium dispertiverat ; uti cum his permixti velites, quocumque accederent, equitatus hostium propulsarent. Nam in Jugurtha tantus dolus, tantaque peritia locorum & militiae erat, ut, absens an præsens, pacem an bellum gerens, perniciösior esset, in incerto haberetur.

LI. Erat haud longe ab eo itinere, quo Metellus pergebat, oppidum Numidarum, nomine Vacca, forum rerum venalium totius regni maxime celebratum ; ubi & incolere & mercari consueverant Italici generis multi mortales. Huc consul, simul tentandi gratia, & si paterentur opportunitates loci, praefidium imposuit ; præterea imperavit frumentum, & alia, quæ bello usui fo-

at hand ; sent his scouts into all quarters round, as looking upon those tokens of submission designed for shew only, and in order to trepan him. Wherefore he marched in the van, attended by some battalions clear of baggage, and a body of slingers and archers. In the rear commanded his lieutenant-general C. Marius with the horse ; and the auxiliary horse he disposed of in the flanks, under the command of the Tribunes of the legions, and the commanders of the battalions, with which were mixed some light-armed foot ; and all this he did in order to repulse the enemy's horse, in what quarter soever they should make their attack. For Jugurtha was a man of so much subtlety, and so well acquainted with the country, and the busines of war, that it was hard to say, whether he was more mischievous, when absent or present, in peace or war.

LI. There was not far from the rout Metellus was in, a town of the Numidians, called Vacca, a place of the greatest trade of any in the kingdom, where a great many Italian merchants were settled, upon account of traffick. Metellus, as well to try the submission of the people, as upon account of the advantages of the place, put a garrison into it ; and further made a demand of corn, and other necessaries for his army, supposing, as it was natural to do, that the great number of merchants there would be very convenient,

tent, comportare; ratus id, quod res inonebat, frequentiam negotiatorum & commeatum juvatrum exercitum, & jam paratis rebus munimento fore. Inter haec negotia Jugurtha impensius modo legatos supplices mittere, pacem orare, praeter suam liberorumque vitam omnia Metello dedere. Quos item, uti priores, consul illectos ad proditionem domum dimittebat; regi pacem, quam postulabat, neque abnuerre, neque polliceri, & inter eas moras promissa legatorum exspectare.

LII. Jugurtha, ubi Metelli dicta cum factis composuit, ac suis se artibus tentari animadvertisit, (quippe cui verbis pax nunciabatur, cæterum re bellum aspergium erat, urbs maxima alienata, ager hostibus cognitus, animi popularium tentati) coactus rerum necessitudine, statuit armis certare. Igitur, explorato hostium itinere, in spem victoræ adductus, ex opportunitate loci, quam maximas potest copias omnium generum parat, ac per tristes occultos exercitum Metelli antevenit. Erat in ea parte Numidæ, quam Atherbal in divisione possederat, flumen

nient for the supplying his troops with provisions, and a means to secure his conquests. In the mean time, Jugurtha was continually sending messengers, and begging peace in the most submissive manner, leaving all things to the disposal of Metellus, but his own and his children's lives; whom the Consul wheedled into a design of betraying their master, as he had done by those that were sent before, neither absolutely refusing, nor promising the King the peace he desired, but in the mean while waiting the execution of the promises made him by the messengers.

LII. Jugurtha comparing Metellus's words with his deeds, and finding himself attacked by the arts he himself had before practised, as having, notwithstanding the hopes given him of a peace, a very smart war upon his bands, the principal city in his kingdom being taken from him, the country well known to the enemy, and his subjects tampered with to seduce them from their allegiance, being forced by the necessity of his affairs, he resolved to give battle to Metellus. Wherefore having got sufficient intelligence of the march of the enemy, and being in hopes of a victory from the advantage their situation presented, he raises as great a force as possible, of both horse and foot; and by some private cross routs gets before Metellus's army. There was in that part of Numidia, which Atherbal had, upon

orient

oriens a meridie, nomine Muthul; quo aberat mons ferme millia passuum viginti, tractu pari, vastus ab natura & humano cultu; sed ex eo medio quasi collis oriebatur, in immensum pertinens, vestitus oleastro ac myrtetis, aliisque generibus arborum, quae humi arido atque arenoso gignuntur. Media autem planicies deserta, penuria aquæ, præter fluminis propinquæ loca: Ea confita arbustis, pecore atque cultoribus frequentabantur.

LIII. Igitur in eo collecte, quem transverso itinere porrectum docuimus, Jugurtha extenuata suorum acie consedit; elephantis & parti copiarum pedestrium Bomilcarem præfecit; eumque edocet quæ ageret. Ipse propior montem cum omni equitatu & peditibus delectis suos collocat; dein singulas turmas & manipulos circumiens monet atque obtestatur, uti, memores pristine virtutis & victoriae, sese regnumque suum ad Romanorum avaritia defendant. Cum bis certamen fore, quos antea victos sub jugum miserint; ducem illis, non animum, mutatum. Quæ ab imperatore decuerint, omnia suis provisa; locum superiorem

the division thereof, a river running from the south, by name Muthul, at about twenty miles distance from which, there was a mountain parallel to the river, waste and uncultivated, from the middle of which rose a hill of vast height, covered with wild olives, myrtles, and other trees, which are apt to grow in a dry sandy soil. The plain betwixt the river and mountain, was all desert for want of water, except the parts bordering upon the river. Those were full of brushwood, cattle, and inhabitants.

LIII. In this hill, which, we have already taken notice, lay across the rout Metellus was taking, Jugurtha sat down with his army, stretched out to a great length. He gave the command of the elephants, with a part of the infantry, to Bomilcar, and instructs him what to do. He posts himself nigher the mountain, with all the horse, and the choicest of the foot; and then riding round the several troops and companies, he begs and beseeches them, to be mindful of their former bravery and success, and to defend themselves and his dominions from the avarice of the Romans. They were now to engage with those, whom they had before conquered, and obliged to pass under the yoke; that they had only changed their general, not their temper. That he had made all the preparations for the battle, that could be expected
uti

uti prudentes cum imperiis, ne pauciores cum pluribus, aut rudes cum bello melioribus manum consenserent. Proinde parati intentique essent, signo dato Romanos invadere; illum diem aut omnis labores & victorias confirmaturum, aut maxumarum ærumnarum initium fore. Ad hoc viritim, uti quemque ob militare facinus pecunia aut honore extulerat, commonefacere beneficii sui, & eum ipsum aliis ostentare. Postremo, præ cujusque ingenio pollicendo, minitando, obtestando, alium alio modo excitare; cum interim Metellus, ignarus hostium, monte degrediens cum exercitu conspicabatur. Primo dubius, quidnam insolita facies ostenderet (nam inter virgulta equi Numidæque confederant, neque plane occultati humilitate arborum, & tamen incerti quidnam esset, cum natura loci tum dolo ipsi atque signa militaria obscurati) dein, brevi cognitis insidiis, paullisper agmen constituit. Ibi communatis ordinibus, in dextro latere, quod proximum hostis erat, triplicibus subfidiis aciem instruxit; inter manipulos funditores & sagittarios dispergit, equitatum omnem in cor-

from a commander; so that they had the advantage of the ground, surprize, numbers, and skill in war, on their side; and therefore ought to be upon their guard, and ready, when the signal should be given, to fall upon the Romans. That that day would either secure to them the fruit of their former labours and victories, or prove the beginning of the most extreme misery. Besides, he addressed himself singly to such as he had for their gallant behaviour raised to riches or honour, put them in mind of his kindness, and shewed them to the rest. In short, he endeavoured to rouze the courage of one in one way, and another another, by promising, threatening, or entreating them, according to their several tempers. Whilst in the mean time Metellus, being not aware of the enemy, was spied coming down the mountain with his army. And being at first in some doubt, what that unusual appearance should mean (for the Numidians with their horses were among the brush-wood, but not sufficiently covered, by reason of the lowness of the trees, nor yet appearing so as to discover what they were, as being themselves and their standards concealed by the nature of the place, and other ways designedly) but in a short time perceiving the stratagem of the enemy, he ordered his army to halt a little; and then altering the disposition thereof, he reinforced it in the right wing, which was next the enemy, with three several bodies of reserves, for their support, if occa-

nibus

nibus locat; ac pauca pro tempore milites hortatus, aciem, sicut instruxerat, transversis principiis in planum ducit.

LIV. Sed, ubi Numidas quietos, neque colle degredi animadvertisit, venitus ex anni tempore & inopia aquæ, ne siti conficeretur exercitus, Rutilium legatum cum expeditis cohortibus, & parte equitum, præmilit ad flumen, uti locum castris antecaperet; existumans hostis crebro impetu, & transversis præliis, iter suum remoraturos; &, quoniam armis diffident, lassitudinem & fitim militum tentaturos. Dein ipse pro re atque loco, sicuti monte descenderat, paullatim procedere; Marium post principia habere; ipse cum finistræ alæ equitibus esse, qui in agmine principes factierant. At Jugurtha, ubi extrellum agmen Metelli primos suos prætergessum videt, præsidio quasi dum illium peditum montem occupat, qua Metellus descenderat; ne forte cedentibus adversariis receptui, ac post munimento foret; dein, repente signo dato, hostis invadit. Numidæ alii

sion required; distributes the slingers and archers amongst the several companies, and places all the horse in the wings, and making a short speech suitable to the occasion, for the encouragement of his men, he drew down his army into the plain.

LIV. But finding the Numidians keep their ground, without offering to quit the hill, and fearing from the season of the year, and the want of water in those parts, lest his army should be distressed by thirst, he sent his lieutenant-general Rutilius, with a light detachment of infantry, and a part of the cavalry, down to the river, to secure a proper place for his camp, as supposing the enemy would, by frequent attacks upon their flank, endeavour to retard their march; and as they had little hopes of succeeding by force of arms, would endeavour to distress our soldiers by continual fatigue and thirst. Upon this, he advanced leisurely, in the same order as he came down the mountain, so far as the nature of the place would admit. He kept Marius behind the principes; he marched with the horse of the left wing, who were now become the foremost in the march. But when Jugurtha saw that the rear of Metellus was now got by his van, he seizes upon the mountain Metellus had quitted, with a body of two thousand men, that the enemy, if routed, might not betake themselves thither for security; and then suddenly giving the signal, he falls upon the enemy. The Numidians some of postre-

postremos cædere; pars a sinistra ac dextra tentare; infensi adesse atque instare, omnibus locis Romanorum ordines conturbare. Quorum etiam qui firmioribus animis obvii hostibus fuerant, ludificati incerto præcelio, ipsi modo eminus sauciabantur, neque contra feriundi aut conferendi manum copia erat. Ante jam docti ab Jugurtha equites, ubique cumque Romanorum turma insequi cooperat, non consertim, neque in unum sese recipiebant, sed alius alio quam maxime divorci. Ita numero priores, si a persequendo hostis deterrere nequivarent, disjectos ab tergo aut lateribus circumveniebant. Sin opportunior fugæ collis, quam campi fuerant, ea vero consueti Numidarum equi facile inter virgulta evadere; nostros asperitas & infelicia loci retinebat.

LV. Cæterum facies totius negotii varia, incerta, foeda atque miserabilis. Dispersi a suis, pars cedere, alii insequi. Neque signa, neque ordines observare. Ubi quemque periculum ceperat, ibi resistere ac propulsare. Arma, tela, equi, viri, hostes, cives permixti. Nihil

of them attacked the rear, whilst others did the same upon the flanks, being very pressing and furious, insomuch that they every where put the Romans into some disorder. Of which those that made the most gallant opposition, were yet befooled by the enemy's unsteady way of fighting; and being themselves wounded by the discharge of the enemy's weapons, made upon them at a distance, could not come to strokes or close fight with them at all. For the horse, as they had before been instructed by Jugurtha, whensoever any troop of the Roman cavalry began to pursue them, did not fly off together, or to any one certain place, but dispersed, one one way, and another another, as much as possible. And so being superior in numbers, if they could not by that means discourage the enemy's pursuit, they attack'd them upon their dividing, in rear, or flank. But if a hill lay more convenient for their flight, than the plain, the horses of the Numidians being used to the work, would easily make their way through the bushes, which ours, for want of being exercised in such rough work, could not do.

LV. But the appearance of things during the whole transaction, was various, uncertain, dismal, and miserable. Some, separated from their main body, fled, whilst others were engaged in the pursuit of the enemy. They neither kept by their standards nor companies. Where danger overtook any one, there he made a stand, and repulsed his adversary. Arms of all

cont-

confilio, neque imperio agi; fors omnia regere. Itaque multum diei procelerat, cum etiam tum eventus in incerto erat. Denique, omnibus labore & æstu languidis, Metellus, ubi videt Numidas minus instare, paullatim milites in unum conductit; ordines restituit, & cohortis legionarias quatuor aduersum pedites hostium collocat; eorum magna pars superioribus locis fessa confederat. Simul orare, hortari milites, ne deficerent, neu paterentur hostes fugientis vincere: Neque illis castra esse, neque munimentum ullum, quo cedentes tenderent; in armis omnia sita. Sed nec Jugurtha quidem interea quietus erat; circuire, hortari, renovare prælium, & ipse cum delectis tentare omnia; subvenire suis, hostibus dubiis instare; quos firmos cognoverat, eminus pugnando retinere.

LVI. Eo modo duo imperatores, summi viri, inter se certabant; ipsi pares, cæterum opibus disparibus. Nam Metello virtus militum erat, locus aduersus; Jugurthæ alia omnia, præter milites, opportuna. Denique Ro-

sorts, horses, men, both enemies and Romans were all jumbled together; nothing was done under any certain conduct or command; chance ruled all. Wherefore the day was now far spent, whilst the event was still uncertain. Finally, when all were now quite faint with the fatigue of the action, and heat of the day, Metellus perceiving the Numidians to abate of their vigour, draws by degrees his soldiers into one place, puts them in due order, and posts four legionary battalions against the enemy's foot; a great part of which being heartily tired, were sat down upon some rising grounds. At the same time Metellus entreated and encouraged his men not to faint, or suffer the flying enemy to get the victory. They had no camp or any fortification to fly to; all their hopes were in their arms. Nor was Jugurtha idle in the mean time, but rid round his troops to encourage them, and renew the fight, and did, with a body of choice troops, make all imaginable efforts for the purpose, relieving his own men, and pushing home upon the enemy, where they were in distress; and such as stood firm, he kept in play, by annoying them at a distance.

LVI. And thus did these two great commanders struggle together for victory, equally matched indeed in their own persons, but in very different circumstances as to other respects. Metellus had the advantage with regard to the courage of his men, but the disadvantage as to ground. Jugurtha had mani,

mani, ubi intellegunt, neque sibi perfugium esse, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri (& jam die vesper erat) ad vorso colle, sicuti præceptum fuerat, evadunt. Amisso loco Numidæ fusi fugati que, pauci interiere. Plerosque velocitas & regio hostibus ignara tutata sunt. Interea Bomilcar, quem elephantis & parti copiarum pedestrium præfectum ab Jugurtha supra diximus, ubi eum Rutilius prætergressus est, paullatim suos in æquum locum ducit; ac, dum legatus ad flumen, quo præmissus erat, festinans pergit, quietus, uti res postulabat, aciem exornat; neque remittit, quid ubique hostes agerent, explorare. Postquam Rutilium consedisse jam, & animo vacuum accepit, simulque ex Jugurthæ prælio clamorem augeri, veritus ne legatus cognitare, laborantibus suis auxilio foret, aciem, quam diffidens virtuti militum arte statuerat, quo hostium itineri officeret, latius porrigit; eoque modo ad Rutilii castra procedit.

Rutilii propositum
castra procedit.

the better of it in all other respects, excepting his men. Finally, the Romans finding no other means of security left them, since the enemy, by keeping at a distance, would give them no opportunity of engaging them, and night was now coming on apace, advance, as they were ordered, up the hill; whereupon the Numidians quitting their ground, were routed, and put to flight, and some few of them slain. But the most of them were saved by the goodness of their heels, and the enemy's want of sufficient acquaintance with the country, together. In the mean time Bomilcar, to whom Jugurtha, as we have above said, had given the command of the elephants, and a part of the infantry, as soon as Rutilius was pass'd him, draws down his men very leisurely into the plain; and whilst the lieutenant-general, according to his orders, pursues his march with all expedition to the river, he, unmolested, puts his troops into such a disposition, as the nature of the case required, and does not neglect to get intelligence what the enemy was every where doing. And after he was advised, that Rutilius was now encamped, and under no apprehensions of an enemy, and perceived too, that the shouting, where Jugurtha was engaged, grew louder and louder, fearing lest the lieutenant-general, upon understanding the matter, should return to the relief of his friends in distress, he extends his forces, which, in distrust of their courage, he had drawn up in close array, to a considerable length, in order to obstruct his passage; and in that disposition advances towards the camp of Rutilius.

LVII. Romani ex improviso pulveris vim magnam animadvertisunt; nam prospectum ager arbuscitus confitus prohibebat. Et primo rati humum aridam vento agitari; post, ubi æquabilem manere, &c., sicuti acies movebatur, magis magisque appropinquare vident; cognita re, properantes arma capiunt, ac pro casulis sicuti imperabatur, consistunt. Deinde, ubi proprius ventum est, utrumque magno clamore concurritur. Numidæ, tantummodo remorati, dum in elephantis auxiliū putant, postquam eos impeditos ramis arborum, atque ita disjectos circumveniri vident, fugam faciunt; ac plerique, abjectis armis, collis, aut noctis, quæ jam aderat, auxilio integri abeunt. Elephanti quatuor capti, reliqui omnes numero quadraginta interfecti. At Romani, quamquam itinere, atque opere castorum, & proelio fessi, lætique erant, tamen, quod Metellus amplius opinione morabatur, instructi intentique obviam procedunt. Nam dolus Numidarum nihil languidi neque remissi patiebatur. Ac primo obscura nocte, postquam haud procul ipter se erant, strepitu,

LVII. *The Romans were surprised with the sudden appearance of a mighty dust raised; for the country being thick set with shrubs, hinder'd the view at any distance. And at first supposed it was only occasioned by the wind's sweeping the dry plain; but perceiving it to be constant, and approach nearer and nearer, as the army advanced, and thereupon discovering the matter, they fly to their arms, and by order of their commander, draw up before the camp. And after the enemy was come within proper distance, both sides engage with a great shout. The Numidians only made a stand, whilst they thought the elephants might be of service to them; but when they saw them entangled amongst the brush-wood, and separately enclosed by the enemy, they take to their heels, and most of them, throwing away their arms, got off safe by the advantage of a hill and the night together, which was now come on. Four elephants were taken; all the rest, forty in number, were slain. But the Romans, altho' fatigued with their march, the work of encamping, and battle too, and all in the height of joy for their success; yet as Metellus stay'd beyond their expectation, put themselves in due order, and advance to meet him. For the wiles of the Numidians admitted no slackness or remissness at all. And when now they were not far asunder, the night being dark, the noise alarmed both sides with the apprehensions of an enemy advancing, the consequence whereof had like to*

velut

velut hostes adventarent, alteri apud alteros formidinem simul & tumultum facere ; & pene imprudentia admisum facinus miserabile, ni utrumque præmissi equites rem exploravissent. Igitur prometu repente gaudium exortum. Milites alius alium læti appellant, acta edocent, atque audiunt ; sua quisque fortia facta ad cœlum fert. Quippe res humanæ ita sese habent ; in victoria vel ignavis gloriari licet ; aduersæ res etiam bonos detrectant.

LVIII. Metellus, in iisdem castris quatriduo moratus, saucios cum cura reficit ; meritos in præliis more militiae donat ; universos in concione laudat, atque agit gratias ; hortatur, *ad cæteram, quæ levia sunt, parrem animum gerant ; pro victoria jatis jam pugnatum, reliquos labores pro præda fore.* Tamen interim transfugas & alios opportunos, Jugurtha ubi gentium, aut quid agitareret, cum paucis ne esset, an exercitum haberet, uti sese victus gereret, exploratum misit. At ille sese in loca saltuosa & natura munita receperat ; ibique cogebat exercitum, numero hominum ampliorem, sed hebetem infirmumque, agri ac pecoris magis, quam belli, cultorem. Id ea gratia eve-

have been fatal, but that some horse, dispatch'd by both parties, discovered the truth. Whereupon their fear was followed with joy : and the soldiers fell to congratulating one another, and mutually imparting their accounts of the two actions, whilst each man extolls his own behaviour to the heavens. For such is the condition of mankind : upon a victory cowards may boast ; but ill success sinks the spirits of the brave themselves.

LVIII. Metellus continued four days in the same camp, took due care for the recovery of his wounded men, confers presents, as is usual in war, upon such as had distinguished themselves in the late fight, commands them all in a speech he made them, and gives them thanks, advising them to shew the like courage for the dispatch of the work remaining upon their hands, which was but inconsiderable. They had fought sufficiently for victory ; all they had now to labour for, was plunder. Yet in the mean time he sent out some deserters, and other proper persons, to enquire where Jugurtha was, or what he designed to do ; whether he was only attended by few, or an army ; and how he behaved himself after his defeat. But he was already retired to a woody part of the country, that was naturally very strong ; and was there raising an army already greater than the former, but unfit for action, and of no account ; as behaved,

niebat, quod, præter e-
quites regios, nemo om-
nium Numidarum ex fu-
ga regem sequitur. Quo
cujusque animus fert, eo
discedunt. Neque id fla-
gitium militiæ ducitur;
ita se mores habent. Igitur
Metellus, ubi videt etiam
tum regis animum fer-
cem esse; bellum renova-
ri, quod nisi ex illius lu-
bidine geri non posset;
præterea iniquum certa-
men sibi cum hostibus,
minore detimento illos
vinci, quam suos vincere;
statuit non præliis, neque
acie, sed alio more bellum
gerendum. Itaque in loca
Numidæ opulentissima
pergit; agros vastat;
multa castella & oppida,
temere munita, aut sine
præsidio, capit incendit-
que; puberes interfici ju-
bet, alia omnia militum
prædam esse. Ea formi-
dine multi mortales Ro-
manis dediti obsides; fru-
mentum, & alia, quæ
usui forent, affatim præ-
bita; ubicumque res po-
stulabat, præfidium im-
positum. Quæ negotia
multo magis, quam prœ-
lium male pugnatum ab
suis, regem terrebant.
Quippe cuius spes omnis
in fuga sita erat; sequi
cogebatur; &, qui sua
loca defendere nequivet-
rat, in alienis bellum ge-
tere. Tamen ex inopia,

ing more acquainted with husbandry and grazing, than the business of war. The reason whereof was, that not a man of the Numidians attends their prince upon a defeat, excepting his own horseguards, but go where they please. Nor is this any blemish upon their honour at all, as being the fashion. Wherefore Metellus perceiving the King's spirit to be still undaunted, and that the war was like to grow upon him again, which could not be carried on but as Jugurtha pleased; and that he was not upon an equal footing with the enemy in the contest; that they sustained less damage by a defeat, than his men did by a victory, he resolved not to carry on the war in the way of pitch'd field-battles, but after a different manner. Wherefore away he marches into the richest parts of Numidia, where he ravages the country, and takes abundance of castles, and towns, that were but slightly fortified, or without any garrison in them, and burns them, orders all the males of age to be put to the sword, granting all besides to his soldiers as plunder. Upon the consternation occasioned by this manner of proceeding, a great many people submitted themselves to the Romans, gave hostages, and supplied the army with corn, and other necessaries, in great plenty. Garrisons were likewise placed where occasion required. Which things struck a much greater terror into the King, than the late unfortunate battle had done. For he, whose hopes lay entirely in avoiding quod

quod optimum videbatur, confilium capit; exercitum plerumque in iisdem locis opperiri jubet; ipse cum delectis equitibus Metellum sequitur; nocturnis & aviis itineribus ignoratus, Romanos pallantis repente aggreditur. Eorum plerique inermes cadunt, multi capiuntur; nemo omnium intactus profugit. Et Numidæ, prius quam ex castris subveniretur, sicuti jussi erant, in proximos collis discedunt.

being most of them unarmed, were all either killed or taken prisoners, except some few that got off, yet not without being much wounded. And the Numidians, before any relief could come from the camp, according to orders, draw off to the next hills.

LIX. Interim Romæ gaudium ingens ortum, cognitis Metelli rebus; ut seque & exercitum more majorum gereret; in adiutorio loco victor tamen virtute fuisse; hostium agro potiretur; Jugurtham, magnificum ex Auli socordia, spem salutis in solitudine aut fuga coegisset habere. Itaque senatus, ob ea feliciter acta, diis immortalibus supplicia decernere. Civitas, trepida antea, & sollicita de belli eventu, læta agere; de Metello fama præclara esse. Igitur eo intentior ad victoram nititi; omnibus modis festinare; cavere tamen ne-

his enemy, was now obliged to pursue him; and he that could not defend those parts of his dominions, where in fight he would have considerable advantages, was forced to carry on the war in those, where he would labour under disadvantages. Yet in this straight he takes such a course as seemed most adviseable. He orders the army to keep generally in the same parts, and attends the motions of Metellus himself, with a choice body of horse; and by marching in the night, and through by-roads, comes unexpectedly upon the Romans that had strolled from the camp; who

LIX. In the mean time there was huge joy at Rome, upon the news of Metellus's success; how he conducted himself and his army, in a manner conformable to that of the brave old Romans; had by his gallant behaviour gained a victory, tho' with the disadvantage of the ground, and had made himself master of the enemy's country, having obliged Jugurtha, who was hugely elated with his success against Aulus, to put all his hopes in flying about with small parties. Wherefore the Senate orders publick thanksgivings to the Gods upon account of the same. The city that was before in no small fear, and much concerned for the issue of the war, was now full of joy, and cried up Metellus most mightily; which inspired him with fresh zeal

cubil

BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 151

cubi hosti opportunus fieret; meminisse post gloriam invidiam sequi. Ita, quo clarior, eo magis anxius erat; neque post infidias Jugurthæ effuso exercitu prædari. Ubi frumento aut pabulo opus erat, cohortes cum omni equitatu præsidium agitabant; exercitus partem ipse, reliquos Marius ducebatur. Sed igni magis, quam præda, ager vastabatur. Duobus locis haud longe inter se castra faciebant. Ubi vi opus erat, cuncti aderant; cæterum, quo fuga atque formido latius cresceret, divisori agebant. Eo tempore Jugurtha per collis sequi; tempus aut locum pugnæ querere; qua venturum hostem audierat, pabulum & aquarum fontis, quorum penuria erat, corrumpere. Modo se Metello, interdum Mario ostendere; postremos in agmine tentare, ac statim in collis regredi; rursus aliis, post aliis minitari; neque præcium facere, neque otium pati, tantummodo hostem ab incœpto retinere.

in that country. One while he shewed himself to Metellus, another to Marius, would fall upon their rear, then presently make off again to the hills, and by and by alarm them again, first in one quarter, and then in another, neither engaging them in good earnest, nor suffering them to be quiet, but only hindering them from the execution of their designs.

to bring the war to a happy conclusion, for which purpose he used all possible application; but yet, notwithstanding his haste, took care to be upon his guard against the stratagems of the enemy, remembraing at the same time, that envy usually attends upon glory; and therefore the more famous he was, the more anxious he was too. And after that ambuscade of Jugurtha's, never suffered his army to disperse for the plunder of the country. But when he had occasion for corn or forage, some battalions of foot, with all the horse, went as a guard to those employed in that service. He conducted one part of the army, and Marius the other. But the country was wasted more by the firing of towns, and other buildings, than plundering them. They used to pitch their camps at a small distance from one another, and when there was occasion for any considerable action, they joined in it. But to spread terrore and desolation more effectually, they generally acted separately. At that time Jugurtha kept within view of them upon the hills, watching all advantages of time and place for the attacking of them. And wheresoever he could learn the enemy designed to march, he destroyed the forage, and the springs, of which there was great scarcity

LX. Romanus imperator, ubi se dolis fatigari videt, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, urbem magnam, & in ea parte, qua sita erat, arcem regni, nomine Zammam, statuit oppugnare; ratus id, quod negotium poscebat, Jugurtham laborantibus suis auxilio venturum, ibique prælimum fore. At ille, quæ parabantur, a perfugis edoctus, magnis itineribus Metellum antevenit; oppidanos hortatur, mœnia defendant, additis auxilio perfugis; quod genus ex copiis regis, quia fallere nequibat, firmisimum erat. Præterea pollicetur, in tempore semet cum exercitu adfore. Ita, compositis rebus, in loca quam maxime occulta discedit; ac paulo post cognoscit, Marium ex itinere frumentatum cum paucis cohortibus Siccam missum, quod oppidum primum omnium post malam pugnam ab rege defecerat. Eo cum delectis equitibus noctu pergit, & jam egredientibus Romanis in porta pugnam facit; simul magna voce Siccenses hortatur, uti cohortes ab tergo circumveniant; fortunam illis præclari facinoris casum dare. Si id fecerint, postea sese in regno, illos in

LX. When the Roman general found himself so harassed by the wily conduct of the enemy, without any possibility of coming to an engagement with him, he resolved to attack Zama, the most considerable town in that part of the kingdom, wherein it lies; supposing, as the case indeed required, that Jugurtha would come to the relief of his subjects in that distress, and that a battle would ensue thereupon. But he being apprized of this intention by some deserters, by great marches got thither before Metellus, and encouraged the townsmen to stand out, putting some deserters into the place for their assistance, which of all the King's troops, were the most to be relied upon, as who could not deceive him. Moreover, he assures them, he would be there again in due time with an army. And after he had thus ordered his affairs, he withdrew, and got off into some very private parts of the country, where soon after he was informed, that Marius had been dispatched from the army then upon a march, to Sicca, with a few battalions, to fetch in corn; which was the first town that revolted from the King, after the late unfortunate battle. Thither he goes with a few choice horse in the night; and as the Romans were coming out of town, falls upon them at the very gate. At the same time, with a loud voice, he begged of the Siccenses to attack the battalions in rear; that fortune had put into their hands an opportunity of performing a noble feat, which, if they did but lay hold of, that he liber-

*libertate fine metu cœta-
tem acturos. Ac ni Ma-
rius signa inferre, atque
evadere oppido propera-
visset; profecto cuncti,
aut magna pars Siccen-
um, fidem mutavissent;
tanta mobilitate fese Nu-
midæ agunt. Sed milites
Jugurthini, paullisper ab
rege sustentati, postquam
majore vi hostes urgent,
paucis amissis, profugi dis-
cedunt.*

LXI. Marius ad Zama pervenit. Id oppidum in campo situm, magis opere, quam natura, munitum erat; nullius idoneæ rei egens, armis virisque opulentum. Igitur Metellus, pro tempore atque loco paratis rebus, cuncta mœnia exercitu circumvenit; legatis imperat, ubi quisque curaret; deinde, signo dato, undique simul clamor ingens oritur. Neque ea res Numidas terret; infensi intentique fine tumultu manent; prœlrium incipitur. Romani, pro ingenio quisque, pars eminus glande aut lapidis pugnare; evadere alii; alii succedere; ac murum modo suffodere, modo scalis aggredi; cuperē prœlrium in manibus facere. Contra ea oppidanī in proximos saxa volvere; fudes, pila, præterea pice & sulphure tædam

should for the future enjoy his kingdom, and they their liberty, in great security. *And had not Marius, by pushing forward, got hastily out of the town, all, or the greatest part of the Siccenians, would certainly have changed sides; so fickle are the Numidians. But the soldiers of Jugurtha, being for some time kept in courage by the King, upon the enemy's making a vigorous resistance, scour off at last, with the loss of some few of their men.*

LXI. *Marius came to Zama. That town was situated in a plain, better fortified by art, than nature; abounding in all the conveniences of life, and well fraught with arms and men. Metellus having provided all things that the time and occasion required, draws his army quite round the town; and assigns his lieutenant-generals the several quarters they were to take care of; and then immediately, upon a signal given, a great shout is set up on all sides. Which did not terrify the Numidians at all, who stood buff, ready for the reception of the enemy; and accordingly a battle ensues. The Romans, according as each man was disposed, some fought with bullets or stones; some withdrew; others came in their room; and one while undermined, another scaled, the wall; eager to come to close fight with the enemy. On the other side, the townsmen tumbled great stones upon those that were under the wall, and discharged sharp stakes and lances, with pitch and sulphur on fire, upon them. Nor were those,*

mistam ardentia mittere. Sed ne illos quidem, qui procul manferant, timor animi satis muniverat. Nam plerosque jacula, tormentis, aut manu emissa, vulnerabant; parique periculo, sed fama impari, boni atque ignavi erant.

LXII. Dum apud Zama sic certatur, Jugurtha ex improviso castra hostium cum magna manu invadit; remissis, qui in praefidio erant, & omnia magis, quam prælium, exspectantibus, portam irrumpit. At nostri, repentina metu perculsi, sibi quisque pro moribus consulunt; alii fugere, alii arma capere; magna pars vulnerati aut occisi. Cæterum ex omni multitudine non amplius quadraginta, memores nominis Romani, grege facto locum cepere paullo, quam alii, editorem; neque inde maxima vi depelli quiverunt; sed tela eminus missa remittere, pauci in pluribus minus frustrati; fin Numidæ propius accessissent, ibi vero virtutem ostendere, & eos maxima vi cædere, fundere, atque fugare. Interim Metellus, cum a-cerrime rem gereret, clamorem & tumultum hostilem a tergo accepit; deinde, converso equo, animadvertit fugam ad

whose fears kept them further off, secure; most of them being wounded with weapons discharged from engines, or the hand; and so the brave, and the cowardly, were in equal danger, tho' not in equal credit.

LXII. During this fight at Zama, Jugurtha falls unexpectedly upon the enemy's camp, with a considerable force; and those left for the defence of it being off their guard, as expecting not in the least to be attacked, he breaks in at one of the gates. But our men being confounded with the surprise, provide for themselves, each according to his natural disposition. Some ran away, others took up arms; a great part of them were wounded or slain. And of all the number not above forty, being mindful of the Roman name, formed themselves into a body, and seized upon a rising ground; nor could they be dislodged from thence by all the fury of the enemy; but threw back upon them their own weapons, and with the more success, because there were so many of them; and if the Numidians came near them, they then laid about them with the utmost bravery; slaughtering, routing, and putting them to flight. In the mean time, whilst Metellus was furiously engaged in the assault upon the town, he heard from his rear the shouting and noise of an enemy; upon which turning his horse, he perceived a rout of persons flying towards him; a plain

e vorsum fieri; quæ res indicabat popularis esse. Igitur equitatum omnem ad castra propere misit, ac statim C. Marium, cum cohortibus sociorum; eumque lacrumans per amicitiam, perque rem publicam, obsecrat, ne quam contumeliam remanere in exercitu viatore, neve hostes inultos abire sinat. Ille brevi mandata efficit. At Jugurtha, munimento castrorum impeditus, cum alii super vallum præcipitarentur, alii in angustiis ipsi sibi propestantes officerent, multis amissis, in loca munita fese recipit. Metellus, infecto negotio, postquam nox aderat, in castra cum exercitu revertitur.

LXIII. Igitur postero die, prius quam ad oppugnandum egredieretur, equitatum omnem in ea parte, qua regis adventus erat, pro castris agitare jubet; portas, & proxima loca tribunis dispertit; deinde ipse pergit ad oppidum, atque, uti superiorie die, murum aggreditur. Interim Jugurtha ex occulto repente nostros invadit. Qui in proxumo locati fuerant, paullisper territi perturbantur; reliqui cito subveniunt. Neque diutius Numidæ resistere quivissent, ni pedites cum equi-

sign of their being friends. Wherefore he sent away all the horse immediately to the camp, and presently after them C. Marius, with some auxiliary battalions; and with tears begs of him by their friendship, and the commonwealth, that he would not suffer any stain to fix upon the honour of their victorious army, or the enemy to get off unrevenged. He presently executes his orders. But Jugurtha, hindered by the rampart of the camp, whilst some threw themselves headlong down the same, and others by crowding and squeezing through the straight passage of the gates, stopp'd one another, after the loss of a great many men, gets away again into his fastnesses. Metellus, upon the approach of night, draws off his army into the camp, without being able to compass his design.

LXIII. Wherefore the next day, before he drew out to renew the attack, he orders all the cavalry to patrole before the camp, on the side the King was to come; the gates, and the parts adjoining, he assigns to some Tribunes; and then he himself advances up to the town, and makes an assault upon the wall, as he had done the day before. In the mean time, Jugurtha from his cover comes suddenly upon our men. Those upon whom the brunt fell, were put for a while into some disorder; but were soon relieved by the rest. Nor would the Numidians have been able to have stood it any long time, had not their foot, mixing with the horse, done great execution in the battle. Upon tibus

tibus permisi magnam cladem in congreſſu facerent. Quibus illi freti, non uti equeſtri prælio ſolet, ſequi, deinceps cedere, ſed advoſis equis concurrere, implicare, ac perturbare aciem; ita, expeditis peditibus suis, hostis pœne victos dare.

LXIV. Eodem tempore apud Zamam magna vi certabatur; ubi quisque legatus, aut tribunus curabat, eo acerbum niti; neque aliis in alio magis, quam in ſeſe, ſpem habere; pariterque oppidani agere, oppugnare, aut parare omnibus locis; avidius alteri alteros fauciare, quam ſemet tegere. Clamor permiflus, hortatione, lætitia, gemitu; item ſtrepitus armorum ad cœlum ferrari; tela utrimque volare. Sed illi, qui mœnia deſenſabant, ubi hostes paullulum modo pugnam remiſerant, intenti prælium equeſtre proſpectabant. Eos, uti quæque Jugurthæ res erant, lætos modo, modo pavidos, animadverteres; ac, ſicuti audiri a suis, aut cerni poſſent, monere alii, alii hortari, aut manu ſignificare, aut niti corporibus; huc & illuc, quaſi vitabundi, aut jacientes tela, agitare. Quod ubi Mario cognitum eſt, nam

whom the horse depending, they did not, according to their ordinary custom, pursue one while, and fly another, but charged breast to breast, confounding our troops, and putting them into ſuch diſorder, that they did in a manner deliver them up, nigh conquered, to their own light foot to dispatch.

LXIV. In the mean time, there was very warm work at Zama; each Lieutenant-general and Tribune, in their ſeveral poſts, exerting all the might they were maſters of; placing their hopes of ſuccesſ not in others, but themſelves. Nor were the townſmen leſs vigorous in their reſiſtance. Both ſides, in ſhort, were more eager to wound the enemy, than ſecure themſelves. Shouts were mix'd with encouragements, exultations, and groans. The din of arms reached the very heavens, and weapons flew thick on both ſides. The besieged upon the wall, as oft as the fury of the besiegers abated, did with great attention view the engagement of the horse. And you might have ſeen them, according as matters went with Jugurtha, one while glad, and another while frightened. And where they could be heard or ſeen by their friends, ſome admoniſhed them of what they thought proper for them to do; others encouraged them, or made ſigns to them with their hands, putting their bodies upon the ſtretch, and moving them this way or that, as if they themſelves were avoiding, or discharging of weapons among them. Which being obſerved by

is in ea parte curabat, consulto lenius agere, ac diffidentiam rei simulare; pati Numidas sine tumultu, regis prælium visere. Ita, illis studio suorum adstricctis, repente magna vi murum aggreditur; & jam scalis adgressi milites prope summa ceperant, cum oppidani concurrunt, lapides, ignem, alia præterea tela ingerunt. Nostri primo resistere; deinde, ubi unæ atque alteræ scalæ comminutæ, qui supersteterant afficti sunt; cæteri, quo quisque modo potuere, pauci integræ, magna pars confecti vulneribus, abeunt. Deinde utrimque prælium nox diremit.

LXV. Metellus postquam videt frustra incepsum; neque oppidum capi, neque Jugurtham, nisi ex insidiis, aut suo loco pugnam facere; & jam æstatem exactam esse; ab Zama discedit, & in iis urbibus, quæ ab se defecerant, satisque munitæ loco, aut mœniibus erant, præsidia impónit. Cæterum exercitum in provinciam, quæ proxima est Numidiæ, hie mandi gratia collocat. Neque id tempus ex aliorum more quieti, aut luxuriæ concedit; sed, quoniam armis bellum

Marius, for he commanded in that quarter; he designedly slackened his speed, under pretence of being disheartened; suffering the Numidians to look on and see the engagement of the King. But then, whilst they were very intent upon the fight, he suddenly renewes the assault upon the wall with the utmost violence. And now some of the soldiers were advanced upon ladders nigh the top of it, when the townsmen flocking to the place, pour upon them stones, fire, and all manner of weapons beside. Our men at first stood stiffly to it; but some of them tumbling headlong to the ground, upon the breaking of a ladder or two they were upon, the rest shifted for themselves, as well as they could, a great many of them being sadly mauled, and few without wounds. At last night put an end to the fray.

LXV. Metellus finding his attempt upon the town to no purpose, and that it was impossible to take it, and that Jugurtha would not fight him, but in the way of surprize, or upon great advantage of ground; and that the summer was now almost over, marches away from Zama, and places garrisons in those cities, which had revolted from him, and were sufficiently strong by nature or art. But his army he puts into winter-quarters, in the province, where it borders upon Numidia. Yet he did not, according to the custom of others, spend the time in idleness and luxury; but since he had but small success in the use of arms, he resolves to lay a trap for Jugurtha, parum

parum procedebat, insidias regi per amicos tendere, & eorum perfidia pro armis uti parat. Igitur Bomilcarem, qui Romæ cum Jugurtha fuerat, & inde, vadibus datis clam Massivæ de nece, judicium fugerat; quod ei per maxumam amicitiam maxuma copia fallendi erat, multis pollicitationibus aggreditur; ac primo efficit, uti ad se colloquendi gratia occultus veniat; dein, fide data, si Jugurtham vivum, aut necatum, sibi tradidisset, fore, ut illi Senatus impunitatem, & sua ommia concederet; facile Numidæ persuadet, cum ingenio infido, tum metuenti ne, si pax cum Romanis fieret, ipse per conditio nes ad supplicium trade retur.

LXVI. Is, ubi pri mum opportunum fuit, Jugurtham anxium, ac miserantem fortunas suas accedit; monet, atque lacrumans obtestatur, uti aliquando sibi liberisque, & genti Numidarum optime merenti, provideat; omnibus præliis sese victos, agrum vastatum, multos mortales captos, occisos; regni opes comminutas es se; satis sœpe jam & vir tutem militum, & fortunam tentatam; caveat, ne illo cunctante, Numi-

by means of his friends, and make use of their treachery, instead of arms. Accordingly he attacks with mighty promises Bomilcar, who had been at Rome with Jugurtha, and by deserting his bail, and flying from thence, had evaded his tryal for the murder of Massiva; because he had, by reason of his great intimacy with him, the best opportunity of deceiving him. He first prevails upon him to come privately, and confer with him; and then giving him his word and honour upon it, that if he delivered Jugurtha alive, or dead, the Senate should grant him a pardon, and all his estate; he easily persuades the Numidian, who was naturally perfidious, and withal afraid, lest, upon the conclusion of a peace with the Romans, he should, by the articles of it, be delivered up to punishment.

LXVI. He, as soon as opportunity presented, accosts Jugurtha, full of perplexity, and lamenting his case; advising and beseeching him with tears, to take at last proper measures for his own safety, with that of his children, and the whole nation of the Numidians, which had deserved very well at his hands. That they had, he said, been defeated in every battle; the country laid waste, and a world of people made prisoners, and slain; whereby the strength of his kingdom had been reduced to nothing. That he had sufficiently tried both the valour of his troops, and his

dæ

dæ fibi consulant. His, atque talibus aliis ad ditionem regis animum impellit. Mittuntur ad imperatorem legati, qui Jugurtham imperata facturn dicerent, ac sine ulla pactione sese, regnumque suum, in illius fidem tradere. Metellus propere cunctos Senatoriū ordinis ex hibernis accersiri jubet; eorum, atque aliorum, quos idoneos ducebat, confilium habet. Ita more majorum, ex confilii decreto, per legatos Jugurthæ imperat, argenti pondo ducenta millia, elephantos omnis, equorum & armorum aliquantum. Quæ postquam fine mora facta sunt, jubet omnis perfugas vinctos adduci. Eorum magna pars, uti jussum erat, adducti; pauci, cum primum deditio coepit, ad regem Bocchum in Mauritiam abierant. Igitur Jugurtha, ubi armis, virisque, & pecunia spoliatus est, cum ipse ad imperandum Tisidium vocaretur, rursus cœpit flectere animum suum, & ex mala conscientia digna timere. Denique, multis diebus per dubitationem consumptis, cum modo tædio rerum adversarum omnia bello potiora duceret; interdum secum ipse reputa-

fortune too; and therefore ought to have a care, lest, if he demurred any longer upon the matter, the Numidians should provide for their own security, without him. *With these, and the like arguments, he at last prevails with the King, to think of making a surrender. Accordingly deputies are dispatched to the Roman General, to let him know, that Jugurtha would submit to his pleasure, and, without insisting upon any terms, would cast himself, and his kingdom, upon his honour.* Metellus immediately orders all the gentlemen of Senatorian rank to be summoned from their winter-quarters, to hold a council with them, and others, such as he judged proper to advise with upon the occasion. And so, according to ancient Roman usage, upon a determination of the council to that effect, he, by the deputies, orders Jugurtha to deliver up two hundred thousand pound of silver, all his elephants, and some horses and arms. *Which being immediately done accordingly, he commands all the deserters from him to be brought to him in chains; and a great part of them were brought, as ordered. Some few of them, as soon as the affair of the surrender begun, fled off to King Bocchus in Mauritania.* Wherefore Jugurtha being thus stript of arms, men, and money, upon his being summoned to Tisidium, to receive further commands, begun again to change his mind, and, from a sense of his guilt, to fear meeting with his deserts. Finally, after he had spent many days in doubt with himself ret,

ret, quam gravis casus in servitium ex regno foret ; multis, magnisque præfidiis nequicquam perditis, de integro bellum sumit. Et Romæ Senatus, de provinciis consultus, Numidiam Metello decreverat.

strength to no purpose, resolves a-fresh upon war. Now the Senate at Rome, being consulted about the disposal of the provinces, had voted Numidia for Metellus.

LXVII. Per idem tempus Uticæ forte C. Mario, per hostias diis supplicanti, magna, atque mirabilia portendi Haruspex dixerat; proinde, quæ animo agitabat, fretus diis ageret; fortunam quam sæpiissime experiretur; cuncta prospere eventura. At illum jam antea consulatus ingens cupidus exagitabat; ad quem capiendum, præter vetustatem familie, alia omnia abunde erant; industria, probitas, militiae magna scientia, animus belli ingens, domi modicus, lubidinis, & divitiarum vixtor, tantummodo gloriæ avidus. Sed is natus, & omnem pueritiam Arpini altus, ubi primum ætas militie patiens fuit, stipendiis facundis, non Græca facundia, neque urbanis munditiis, se se exercuit; ita inter artis bonas integrum ingenium brevi adolevit. Ergo ubi primum tribu-

what to do, as one while, from an uneasiness under his misfortunes, thinking any terms whatever preferable to war; and then again considering, how heavy a fall he should have from the height of royal majesty into a state of slavery; after he had now thrown away a considerable part of his

LXVII. About the same time as Caius Marius was at Utica, paying his devotion to the Gods by sacrifice, the Haruspex told him, that there appeared therein prognosticks of great and wonderful favours designed him by heaven; and therefore he might depend upon the protection and blessing of the Gods, in the execution of his designs; and might push his fortune, as much as he pleased, with assurance of success. Now he had, some time before this, been seized with a passionate desire of the Consulship; and indeed was abundantly furnished with all the qualifications requisite for obtaining it, besides that of a noble descent; such as industry, integrity, skill in the military art, a spirit great in war, but moderate in peace; far above covetousness and riches, and ambitious of glory alone. He was born and brought up at Arpinum, and as soon as he came of age to bear arms, he applied himself to the service of his country in the wars, not to the study of the Græcan eloquence, or the fopperies of the town; and thus was his noble genius advanced to the highest pitch of improvement.

natum militarem a populo petit, plerisque faciem ejus ignorantibus, facile notus per omnis tribus declaratur. Deinde ab eo magistratu, alium post alium sibi peperit; semperque in potestatibus eo modo agitabat, ut ampliore, quam gerebat, dignus haberetur. Tamen is ad id locorum talis vir, (nam postea ambitione præceps datus est) Consulatum appetere non audebat. Etiam tum alios magistratus plebes, Consulatum nobilitas inter se per manus tradebat. Novus nemo tam clarus, neque tam egregius factis erat, quin is indignus illo honore, & quasi pollutus haberetur.

valuable soever he was, upon the score of his own merit, was thought worthy of it, but rather a scandal to it.

LXVIII. Igitur, ubi Marius haruspicis dicta eodem intendere videt, quo cupido animi hortabatur; ab Metello petundi gratia missionem rogat; cui quamquam virtus, gloria, atque alia optanda bonis superabant, tamen inerat contemptor animus, & superbia, commune nobilitatis malum. Itaque primum commotus insolita re, mirari ejus consilium, & quasi per amicitiam monere, ne tam pravainciperet, neu super-

ment, in the practice of laudable qualities. And therefore, when he made his first suit to the people for a Tribune's commission, tho' most of them were strangers to his face, yet being soon known by his character, he was chosen by all the tribes, without exception. After that, he rose from one degree of honour to another; and behaved himself in them all so, that he was always thought worthy of a greater post, than that he was in. Yet as valuable a man as he was 'till that time (for afterwards he was hurried away into strange excesses by his ambition) he durst not venture to offer himself a candidate for the Consulship. For at that time the commons were admitted to other offices; but the Consulship the nobility engrossed to themselves, transmitting it from one to another. No person of low birth, how famous or

LXVIII. Wherefore Marius finding the predictions of the soothsayer concur with his own ambitious inclinations, he requests of Metellus his discharge, in order to sue for the Consulship. And tho' Metellus had virtue, glory, and other desirable qualifications in abundance, yet had he a haughty spirit, and pride withal, the common bane of the nobility. Wherefore being at first much startled with the novelty of the thing, he wondered what he meant, and pretended in friendship to advise him, not to engage in so wild a project, or suffer his thoughts to tower above his fortune. All things were not to be fortu-

fortunam animum geret; non omnia omnibus cupienda esse; debere illi res suas satis placere; postremo caveret id petere a populo Rom. quod illi jure negaretur. Postquam hæc, atque alia talia dixit, neque animus Marii flectitur; respondit, *ubi primum potuisset per negotia publica, facturum sese, quæ peteret.* Ac postea, saepius eadem postulant, fertur dixisse, *ne festinaret abire; satis mature, illum cum filio suo Consulatum petiturum.* Is eo tempore contubernio patris ibidem militabat, annos natus circiter xx. Quæ res Marium cum pro honore, quem affectabat, tum contra Metellum vehementer accenderat. Ita cupidine, atque ira, peccatum consuloribus, graſſari; neque facto ullo, neque dicto abstinere, quod modo ambitionis foret; milites, quibus in hibernis præterat, laxiore imperio, quam antea, habere; apud negotiatores, quorum magna multitudo Uticæ erat, criminose simul & magnifice de bello loqui; dimidia pars exercitus, si sibi permittereatur, paucis diebus Jugurtham in catenis habitum; ab imperatore consulto trahi, quod, ho-

coveted by all men; he ought to be abundantly satisfied with his present condition. Finally, he bid him have a care of asking that of the Roman people, which they might very reasonably deny him. After he had said this, and other things to the like purpose, but without being able to divert Marius from his design, he told him, that as soon as the publick occasions would permit, he should comply with his request. And upon Marius's repeated instances to him for his discharge, he at last, they say, told him, He need not be in so much haste to be gone; he might sue time enough for the Consulship with his son. He at that time served under his father, being a youth of about twenty years of age. This only made Marius more eager of carrying his point, and very much incensed him against Metellus. Wherefore he now proceeded according to the instigation of two of the worst of counsellors, ambition and anger; by all his words and actions he endeavoured to render himself popular; keeping the soldiers he commanded in their winter-quarters, under a very loose discipline; and reflecting amongst the merchants, whereof there was a great number at Utica, upon the conduct of Metellus in the war, and boasting mightily what he would do; That with half the army, he would in a few days have Jugurtha in chains; the war was designedly prolonged by the general, who being a vain man, and having all the haughtiness of a King in him, was too fond of his command.

mo inanis, & regiae superbiae, imperio nimis gauderet. Quae omnia illis eo firmiora videbantur, quod diuturnitate belli res familiaris corruperant; & animo cupienti nihil fatis festinatur.

LXIX. Erat præterea in exercitu nostro Numida quidam, nomine Gauda, Mastanabilis filius, Mafinissæ nepos, quem Micipsa testamento secundum hæredem scripsérat, morbis confectus, & ob eam caußam mente paullum imminuta. Cui Metellus petenti, more regum, uti sellam juxta poneret, item postea custodiæ caufia turmam equitum Romanorum, utrumque negaverat; honorem, quod eorum modo foret, quos populus Romanus reges appellavisset; præsidium, quod contumeliosum in eos foret, si equites Romani, satellites Numidæ tradarentur. Hunc Marius anxium aggreditur, atque hortatur, ut contumeliarum in imperatorem, cum suo auxilio pœnas petat; hominem ob morbos animo parum valido secunda oratione extollit; illum regem, ingentem virum, Mafinissæ nepotem esse; si Jugurtha captus, aut occisus foret, imperium Numidæ sine mora

All which things appeared to them the more plausible, because the long continuance of the war affected their trade; and no expedition seems sufficient to the man that is in haste to be rich.

LXIX. There was besides in our army, a certain Numidian, by name Gauda, the son of Mastanabal, and grandson of Mafinissa, whom Micipsa in his will had made his second heir; a man distemper'd to such a degree, that it affected his mind. He had requested of Metellus the honour of a chair next him, as Kings had, and afterwards a troop of Roman horse for his guard; but he refused him both; the first, because it was an honour only paid to such as the Roman people complimented with the title of Kings; and the latter, because it would be an affront upon Roman knights to be made to attend upon a Numidian as his guard. In his concern for this refusal, Marius addresses him, and encourages him, by the promise of his assistance, to apply for satisfaction for the affronts put upon him by the general. He magnifies the poor mortal, who from the influence of his distempers upon his mind was little better than crazed, telling him, He was a prince, a great man, the grandson of Mafinissa. If Jugurtha was but taken prisoner, or slain, he would, without more ado, forthwith get the kingdom of Numidia; which might quickly be brought about, if he was made Consul for X 2 habi-

habiturum; id adeo ma-
ture posse evenire, si ipse
Consul ad id bellum missus
foret. Itaque & illum,
& equites Romanos, mi-
litates, & negotiatores, alios
ipse, plerosque spes pacis
impellit, ut Romam ad
suos necessarios asperie in
Metellum de bello scri-
bant, Marium imperato-
rem poscant. Sic illi a
multis mortalibus ho-
nestissima suffragatione
Consulatus petebatur. Si-
mul ea tempestate plebes
nobilitate fusa per legem
Mamilianam, novos extolle-
bat. Ita Mario cuncta
procedere.

LXX. Interim Jugurtha, postquam, omissa ditione, bellum incipit, cum magna cura parare omnia, festinare, cogere exercitum; civitates, quae ab se defecerant formidine, aut ostentando præmia adfectare; communire suos locos; arma, tela, aliaque, quae ipse pacis amiserat, reficere, aut commercari; servitia Romanorum allicere, & eos ipsos, qui in præfidiis erant, pecunia tentare; prorsus nihil intactum, neque quietum pati; cuncta agitare. Igitur Vaccenses, quo Metellus initio, Jugurtha pacificante, præsidium impo-suerat, fatigati regis suppliciis, neque antea vo-

the management of the war. Wherefore he, the Roman knights, soldiers, and merchants, were all encouraged, part by Marius, but most of them by the hopes of peace, to write to their friends at Rome, in a very reflecting manner, upon the conduct of Metellus in the war; at the same time wishing Marius might be made general therein. Thus was he supported in his pretensions to the Consulship, by a very honourable interest made for him. At the same time too, the commons having baffled the nobility by the Mamilian law, were for raising your upstart gentlemen. And thus all things went on Marius's side.

LXX. In the mean time Jugurtha, having dropped his intention of surrendering, and renew'd the war, was making preparations for it with all possible application and expedition, and raising an army. He endeavour'd too, partly by threats, and partly by promises, to engage the cities, which had revolted from him, to return to their allegiance; was busy in fortifying places; in making or buying up arms of all sorts, and other things, which he had parted with, in hopes of peace. He likewise attempted to wheedle over to him the Roman slaves, and tampered, by the influence of his money, to engage such as were in garrisons to betray the towns to him. In short, he left no means untried for his defence, but pushed at all. Wherefore some of the principal inhabitants of Vacca, wherein Metellus had put a garri-luntate

luntate alienati, principes civitatis inter se conjurant; nam vulgus, uti plerumque solet, & maxime Numidarum, ingenio mobili, seditiosum, atque discordiosum erat, cupidum novarum rerum, quieti & otio aduersum; dein, compositis inter se rebus, in diem tertium constituant, quod is festus celebratusque per omnem Africam, ludum, & lasciviam magis, quam formidinem, ostentabat. Sed, ubi tempus fuit, centuriones, tribunosque militaris, & ipsum praefectum oppidi T. Turpilium Silanum, alius alium domos suas invitauit; eos omnis, praeter Turpilium, inter epulas obtruncant; postea milites palantis, inermis, quippe in tali die, ac fine imperio aggrediuntur. Idem plebes facit, pars edocti ab nobilitate, alii studio talium rerum incitati, quis acta, consiliumque ignorantibus tumultus ipse, & res novae satis placebant.

son, when Jugurtha made an offer of submitting, being wearied out by the solicitations of the King, and indeed not disaffected to him before; the heads of them enter into a conspiracy for betraying the town. For the common people, according to their usual temper, especially among the Numidians, were fickle, seditious, and contentious, fond of change, and enemies to peace and quietness. These gentlemen having formed their plot, pitched upon the third day after for the execution of it, because that being a festival much observed throughout all Africa, naturally gave occasion to expect mirth and jollity, and nothing of terror, at such a time. When the day was come, they invite the centurions and tribunes, with the governour of the town, T. Turpilius Silanus, to their houses, one one, and another another of them, and murdered them all during the feast, excepting Turpilius; after which they fall upon the soldiers, dispersed about town, and unarmed, being holyday, and consequently under no command. The commonalty too do the like, part of them at the instigation of the nobility, and others out of a fondness for the work; who, tho' they knew not well what was doing, or the design, yet liked the commotion, and the novelty of the thing.

LXXI. *The Roman soldiers, upon this unexpected alarm, being in great doubt and uncertainty what course to take, ran in great hurry to the citadel of the town, where their standards and shields were; but found the gates shut,*

Romani milites, improviso metu, incerti ignarique, quod potissimum facerent, trepidare ad arcem oppidi, ubi signa, & scuta erant; praesidium hostium, por-

tæ ante clausæ fugam prohibebant ; ad hoc mulieres puerique protectis ædificiorum faxa, & alia, quæ locus præbebat, certatim mittere. Ita neque caveri anceps malum, neque a fortisflumis infirmissimo generi resisti posse ; juxta boni, malique, strenui, & imbelles inulti obtruncati. In ea tanta asperitate, fævissimum Numidis, & oppido undique clauso, Turpilius præfectus unus ex omnibus Italicis profugit intactus ; id misericordia ne hospitis, an pactione, an casu ita evenierit, parum comperimus ; nisi, quia illi in tanto malo, turpis vita integra fama potior fuit, improbus intestabilisque videtur. Metellus, postquam de rebus Vaccæ actis comperit, paullisper inœstus e conspectu abit ; deinde, ubi ira, & ægritudo permista sunt, cum maxima cura ultum ire injurias festinat. Legionem, cum quæ hiemabat, & quam plurimos potest Numidas equites pariter cum occasu solis expeditos educit ; & postera die, circiter horam tertiam, pervenit in quamdam planitiem, locis paullo superioribus circumventam. Ibi milites fessos itineris magnitudine, & jam ab-

and a guard posted to prevent their getting in. Besides, the women and children upon the tops of the houses, plied them off with stones, and ought else that came to hand. In this double distress, it was impossible for them to take any proper measures for their own security ; nor could the bravest resist the weakest. The courageous and the cowardly, the vigorous and unactive, perished all alike unrevenged. In this dismal case, the Numidians breathing nothing but destruction, and the gates being all close, Turpilius the governour was the only man of all the Italians, that got safe off ; whether through the compassion of the person that entertained him, by compact, or chance, does not appear. But however, as in the common calamity, he preferred a scandalous life before his honour, he must, I think, pass for a detestable scoundrel. When Metellus heard of the transactions at Vacca, he was so much affected, that for some time he declined all company ; but at last resentment mixing with his sorrow, his mind was wholly taken up with the thoughts of revenge. Accordingly he draws out the legion he wintered with, and as many light Numidian horse, as he could get together, about sun-set ; and the next day, by three of the clock, he came into a plain, enclosed on all sides with rising ground. There the soldiers being much fatigued with their march, and now refusing to obey orders, he tells them, that the town of Vacca was not above a mile off ; and that they

nuentis

nuentis omnia, docet opidum Vaccam non amplius mille passuum abesse; decere illos reliquum laborem æquo animo pati, dum pro civibus suis, viris fortissimis, atque miserrimis, poenas caperent. Præterea prædam benigne ostentat. Sic animis eorum arrectis, equites in primo latere, pedites quam arctissime ire, & signa occultare jubet.

LXXII. Vaccenses ubi animadvertere ad se vorsum exercitum pergere; primo, uti reserat, Metellum esse rati, portas claufere; deinde, ubi neque agros vastari, & eos, qui primi aderant, Numidas equites vident; rursum Jugurtham arbitrati, cum magno gaudio obvii procedunt. Equites peditesque, repente signo dato, alii vulgum effusum oppido cædere; alii ad portas festinare; pars turres capere; ira, atque spes prædæ amplius, quam lassitudo, posse. Ita Vaccenses biduum modo ex perfidia lætati; civitas magna, & opulens, pœnæ cunctæ aut prædæ fuit. Turpilius, quem præfectum oppidi unum ex omnibus profugisse, supra ostendimus, iussus a Metello causam dicere; postquam sese parum expurgat, condemnatus,

ought to bear with patience the little remaining fatigue, to take vengeance for the murder of their brave, but unhappy, countrymen. At the same time, he civilly made them an offer of the plunder of the place. The hearing of this putting new life into them, he orders the horse to advance first, and the foot to follow after in close array, concealing their standards.

LXXII. The Vaccensians, upon the first discovery of an army coming against them, supposing it to be Metellus, as it was, shut their gates; but perceiving no ravage made, and that those in the van were Numidian horse; concluding that Jugurtha was there, they sally out to meet him with great joy. Whereupon both horse and foot, upon a sudden signal given, some made havock of the mob that came from the town, whilst others hastened to the gates, and others got into the towers upon the wall; and now their passion, and the hopes of plunder, made them forget all their fatigue. Thus the Vaccensians, a great and wealthy people, after a joy of two days continuance for the success of their late treachery, were all either put to the sword, or plundered. Turpilius the governour of the town, who, we have already said, was the only one that made his escape, was called before a court martial by Metellus; where making but a poor defence, he was sentenced to die, and being first lashed, was verbe-

verberatusque, capite pœnas solvit; nam is civis ex Latio erat.

LXXIII. Per idem tempus Bomilcar, cuius impulsu Jugurtha deditio-
nem, quam metu deseruit, incep-
rat, suspectus regi, & ipse eum suspici-
ens, novas res cupere; ad
perniciem ejus dolum
quærere; diu noctuque fa-
tigare animum; denique,
omnia tentando, socium
sibi adjungit Nabdalsam,
hominem nobilem, mag-
nis opibus clarum, accep-
turnque popularibus suis;
qui plerumque seorsum
ab rege exercitum duc-
tare, & omnis res exsequi
solitus erat, quæ Jugur-
thæ fesso, aut majoribus
adstricto, superaverant;
ex quo illigloria, opesque
inventæ. Igitur utriusque
confilio dies insidiis sta-
tuitur; cætera, ut res
posceret, ex tempore pa-
rari placuit. Nabdalsa ad
exercitum profectus;
quem inter hiberna Ro-
manorum iussus habebat,
ne ager inultis hostibus
vastaretur. Is postquam,
magnitudine facinoris
percussus, ad tempus non
venit; metusque rem
impediebat; Bomilcar si-
mul cupidinibus incep-
patrandi, & timore socii
anxius, ne, omisso vetere
confilio, novum quære-
ret; litteras ad eum per-

afterwards beheaded. For he was a Roman only with the privilege of Latium.

LXXIII. About the same time Bomilcar, at whose instigation Jugurtha had begun to make a surrender of his kingdom, which design he afterwards relinquished through fear, being suspected by the King, and himself suspicious of him, out of a desire to get rid of him, was wracking his invention day and night, in the contrivance of a plot for his destruction; and after a variety of projects for the purpose, at last engages Nabdalsa in the design, a noble-man of great estate and interest in his country; who used generally to command an army apart from the King, and take charge of such affairs relating to the war, as the King was at any time too much fatigued to attend upon in person, or prevented from so doing by business of higher concern; by which means he had acquired to himself great glory, and a vast estate. Wherefore by joint consent, a day was fix'd for the execution of their plot; the manner whereof was to be regulated according to the exigency of the time. Upon this, Nabdalsa went to the army; which, by order of the King, he had within the enemy's winter-quarters, in order to oppose or revenge any ravage of theirs in the country. But he staggering at the greatness of the undertaking, and fearful of the issue, came not at the time appointed; which prevented the execution of the design. Whereupon Bomilcar, as well from an eager desire ho-

homines fidelis mittit; in quies mollietem, socrati-
amque viri accusare; testari Deos, per quos
juravisset; monere, ne
pramia Metelli in pestem
converteret; Jugurtha
exitium adesse; cæterum,
sua ne, an virtute Metelli
periret, id modo agitari;
proinde reputaret cum ani-
mo suo, præmia an cruci-
atum mallet.

to their common destruction; that Jugurtha was on the brink of ruin; but whether that was to be effected by their resolution, or that of Metellus, was the only thing they were to consider. Wherefore he would do well to think with himself, which he would make choice of, rewards, or a cruel death.

LXXIV. Sed cum hæ
litteræ adlatæ, forte Nab-
dalsa, exercito corpore
fensus, in lecto quiescebat.
Ubi, cognitis Bomilcaris
verbis, primo cura, deinde,
uti ægrum animum
solet, somnus cepit. Erat
ei Numida quidam nego-
tiorum curator fidus, ac-
ceptusque, & omnium
consiliorum, nisi novissimi,
particeps. Qui post-
quam allatas litteras au-
dit, ex consuetudine
ratus opera, aut ingenio
suo opus esse, in taberna-
culum introiit; dormi-
ente illo, epistolam, su-
per caput in pulvino te-
mtere positam, sumit, ac
perlegit; dein propere,
cognitis infidiis, ad regem
pergit. Nabdalsa, post
paullo expperctus, ubi
neque epistolam reperit,

of accomplishing his purpose, as
also from a concern at the timorous-
ness of his friend, lest he, drop-
ping their former design, should
engage in a new one to his destruc-
tion, dispatches a letter to him by
some confidents; in which he up-
braided him with cowardice, and
want of spirit; called the Gods,
by whom they had sworn, to witness
against him; and advised him to
have a care of turning the rewards
they had to expect from Metellus,

LXXIV. When this letter came
to the hands of Nabdalsa, he hap-
pened to be resting himself upon
the bed, after a fatigue of exercise.
Upon reading of it, he was full of
perplexity; and after he had wea-
ried himself with musing upon the
matter, as it often happens in such
cases, he fell asleep. He had a
faithful servant, a Numidian,
much entrusted by him in the ma-
nagement of his affairs, highly in
his favour, and acquainted with
all his designs, excepting the last.
Who, upon hearing a letter was
brought for his master, supposing
he might, as usual, have occasion
for his service or advice upon it,
entered his tent; and finding him
asleep, takes the letter, that was
carelessly laid above his head upon
his pillow, and reads it. Having
by this means discovered the plot,
he goes in all haste to the King.
Nabdalsa awaking soon after, mis-
sed his letter, and being informed

& rem omnem, uti acta erat, ex perfugis cognovit; primo indicem persequi conatus; postquam id frustra fuit, Jugurtham placandi gratia, accedit; dicit quæ ipse paravisset facere, perfidia clientis sui præventum; lacrumanus obtemperatur per amicitiam, perque sua antea fideliter acta, ne super tali scelere suspectum sese haberet.

LXXV. Ad ea rex aliter, atque animo gerebat, placide respondit. Bomilcare, aliisque multis, quos socios infidiarum cognoverat, interfectis, iram opprescerat, ne qua ex eo negotio seditio oriretur. Neque post id locorum Jugurthæ dies, aut nox ulla quieta fuit; neque loco, neque mortali cuiquam aut tempori sati credere; civis, hostis juxta metuere; circumspectare omnia, & omni strepitu pavescere; alio, atque alio loco saepe contra decus regium, noctu requiescere; interdum somno excitus, arreptis armis tumultum facere; ita formidine, quasi ve cordia exagitari.

LXXVI. Igitur Metellus, ubi de casu Bomilcaris, & indicio patefacto ex perfugis cognovit; rursus tanquam ad integrum bellum cuncta pa-

by some deserters, of what had passed, he first of all endeavoured to overtake the informer; but finding he could not do that, he goes himself to the King, in order to mollify him; telling him, that he had been prevented in what he designed to do himself, by the perfidiousness of his servant; and with tears beseeches him by his favour for him, and the merit of his former services, not to suspect him.

LXXV. *The King dissembling the real sentiments of his mind, gave him a kind answer. And then putting Bomilcar, and many others he found concerned with him in the plot, to death, suppressed his resentment against Nabdalsa, for fear of an insurrection in his favour. From this day forward Jugurtha had no quiet day or night, as not knowing how to trust himself in any place or company, and fearing his subjects and enemies all alike. He was ever looking round him, affrighted with the least noise, and rested a-nights, sometimes in one place, sometimes another, unbecoming a prince. Sometimes he would start suddenly, in great disorder, out of his sleep, and take to his arms; and was haunted with his fears to distraction.*

LXXVI. *When Metellus heard by some deserters, of the fate of Bomilcar, and the discovery of the plot, he makes, in all haste, fresh preparations for the renewal of the war. And as Marius was per-*
rat,

BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 171

rat, festinatque. Marium, fatigantem de prosectori-
one, simul & invitum,
& offendit fibi parum
idoneum ratus, domum
dimittit. Et Romæ ple-
bes, litteris, quæ de Me-
tello ac Mario missæ
erant, cognitis, volenti
animo de ambobus acce-
perant. Imperatori no-
bilitas, quæ antea decori-
fuerat, invidiæ esse; at
illi alteri generis humilitas
favorem addiderat; cæ-
terum in utroque magis
studia partium, quam bo-
na, aut mala sua, mode-
rata. Præterea seditioni
magistratus vulgum ex-
agitare, Metellum omni-
bus concionibus capitis
arcessere, Marii virtutem
in majus celebrare. De-
nique plebes sic accensa,
uti opifices, agrestisque
omnis, quorum res, fides-
que in manibus sitæ erant,
relictis operibus frequen-
tarent Marium, & sua
necessaria post illius hono-
rem ducerent. Ita per-
culsa nobilitate, post
multas tempestates, novo
homini Consulatus man-
datur; & postea populus
a tribuno plebis Manlio
Mantino rogatus, quem
vellet cum Jugurtha bel-
lum gerere, frequens Ma-
rium jussit. Sed senatus
paullo ante Metello Nu-
midiam decreverat, ea res
frustra fuit,

*petually solliciting him for his dis-
charge, and he thought he would
be of small service to him, if de-
tained against his will, and out of
humour, he sends him home. At
Rome too, when the commons came
to know the contents of the letters
relating to Metellus and Marius,
they were well pleased with the
treatment of both. The general's
noble descent, which before had
been an ornament to him, now ex-
posed him to the hatred of the peo-
ple; whilst the low birth of the
other procured him their favour.
But party-rage prevailed more in
the case of both, than their own
good or bad qualities. Besides,
some factious magistrates inflamed
the popular heat, by charging Me-
tellus, in all their harangues, with
capital crimes, and magnifying pro-
digiously the great conduct of Ma-
rius. In short, the people were so
fired, that the mechanicks in town,
with the boors from the country,
whose substance and credit lay all
in their daily labour, quitting their
several employments, gave constant
attendance upon Marius, and post-
poned their own necessary concerns
to his honour. The nobility being
by this means quite dispirited, af-
ter much bustle, the Consulship is
put into the hands of this upstart
gentleman Marius. And by a bill,
which the tribune of the commons,
Manlius Mantinus, preferred to
the people, in a full assembly, he
was ordered to manage the war
with Jugurtha. The Senate indeed
had a little before voted the pro-
vince of Numidia for Metellus,
but all in vain.*

LXXVII. Eodem tempore Jugurtha, amis-
fis amicis, quorum ple-
rosque ipse necaverat, cæteri formidine, pars ad
Romanos, alii ad regem
Bocchum profugerant; cum neque bellum geri
fine administris posset, novorumque fidem in
tanta perfidia veterum experiri periculum du-
ceret, varius incertusque agitabatur. Neque illi res,
neque consilium, aut
quisquam hominum satis
placebat; itinera, præ-
fectosque in dies mutare;
modo aduersum hostes,
interdum in solitudines
pergere; saepe in fuga, at
post paullo spem in armis
habere; dubitare, virtuti
an fidei popularium minus
craderet. Ita, quocum-
que intenderat, res ad-
versæ erant. Sed inter
eas moras repente sese
Metellus cum exercitu
ostendit. Numidæ ab
Jugurtha pro tempore
parati, instructique; dein
prælium incipitur. Qua
in parte rex pugnæ adfuit,
ibi aliquamdiu certatum;
cæteri omnes ejus milites
primo congressu pulsi,
fugatique; Romani signorū,
& armorum, & aliquanto numero hosti-
um potiti. Nam ferme
Numidas in omnibus
præliis magis pedes, quam
arma, tuta sunt.

LXXVII. In the mean time,
Jugurtha having lost all his
friends, the greatest part of them
being put to death by himself, and
the rest, for fear of the like fate,
flying over to the Romans, or King
Bocchus, being not in a condition to
carry on the war without ministers,
or proper assistants; and thinking
it dangerous, after the perfidious
usage he had met with from his
old friends, to try the faith of new
ones, he was in vast perplexity and
uncertainty what to do. Nothing,
no advice, no body could please him.
He changed his marches, and the
governours of towns, every day.
Sometimes he advanced against the
enemy; sometimes he made off into
the desarts. He oftentimes placed
his hopes in flight, and presently
after in his arms; being in doubt
whether the courage, or the fidelity
of his subjects, was less to be confided
in. Thus, turn his thoughts which
way he would, all things seemed
to be against him. Whilst he was
in this wavering condition, on a
sudden Metellus appears with his
army. The Numidians were put in
order of battle, and drawn up, as
well as the shortness of the time
would allow; after which the fight
begun; which continued some time,
where the King was personally pre-
sent; but the rest of the army was
routed and put to flight, at the very
first shock. The Romans took all
their standards and arms, with a
small number of prisoners. For in
almost all the battles that were
fought, their heels secured the Nu-
midians more than their arms.

LXXVIII. Ea fuga Jugurtha impensius modo rebus suis diffidens, cum perfugis, & parte equitatus in solitudines, dein Thalam pervenit, id oppidum magnum, & opulentum; ubi plerique thesauri, filiorumque ejus multus pueritiae cultus erat. Quæ postquam Metello comperta sunt, quamquam inter Thalam flumenque proximum, in spatio millium quinquaginta, loca arida, atque vasta esse cognoverat; tamen spe patrandi belli, si ejus oppidi potius foret, omnis asperitates supervadere, ac natum etiam vincere aggreditur. Igitur omnia jumenta sarcinis levari jubet, nisi frumento dierum decem; cæterum utres modo, & alia aquæ idonea portari. Præterea conquirit ex agris quam plurimum potest dormiti pecoris; eoque imponit vasa cujusque modi, pleaque lignea, collecta ex tuguriis Numidarum. Ad hoc finitimus imperat, qui se post regis fugam Metello dediderant, quam plurimum quisque aquæ portaret; diem, locumque, ubi præsto forent, prædictit. Ipse ex flumine, quam proximam oppido aquam esse supra diximus, jumenta onerat. Eo mo-

LXXVIII. After this defeat, Jugurtha despairing more than ever of success, got off with some deserters, and a part of the horse, into the desarts, from whence he came to Thala, a great and wealthy town; where most of his treasure lay, and his sons were generally educated. Upon advice of which, Metellus, tho' all the country betwixt Thala and the next river, of fifty miles extent, was dry and waste; yet in hopes of finishing the war, if he could but make himself master of that town, he resolves to encounter all manner of hardships, and conquer even nature itself. Wherefore he orders all the beasts of burden to be eased of all other luggage, in order to carry corn sufficient for ten days, with leathern bottles, and other vessels proper to put up water in. Moreover, he picks up out of the country as many horses, and the like animals that had been broke, as he could; and loads them with vessels of all kinds, but mostly of wood, taken out of the cottages of the Numidians. Besides, he orders the neighbouring people, who, after the defeat of the King, had submitted to Metellus, to carry every one of them as much water as they could; and appoints time and place for their rendezvous. He loads the beasts of carriage out of the river, which, we have above said, was the nearest water to the town. Being thus provided, away he marches for Thala; and when he was arrived at the place, where he had appointed the Numidians to meet him, and the camp was pitched and fortifi-
do

do instructus ad Thalam proficiscitur. Deinde ubi ad id loci ventum, quod Numidis præceperat; & castra posita, munitaque sunt; tanta repente cœlo missa vis aquæ dicitur, ut ea modo exercitui satis superque foret. Præterea commeatus spe amplior; quia Numidæ, sicuti plerique in nova deditione, officia intenderant. Cæterum milites, religione, pluvia magis usi; eaque res multum animis eorum addidit; nam rati sese Diis immortalibus curæ esse. Deinde postero die, contra opinionem Jugurthæ, ad Thalam perveniunt. Oppidani, qui se locorum asperitate munitos crediderant, magna atque insolita re perculsi, nihilo segnus bellum parare; idem nostri facere.

LXXIX. Sed rex nihil jam Metello infectum credens, quippe qui omnia arma, tela, locos, tempora, denique Naturam ipsam, cæteris imperitatem, industria vicebat, cum liberis, & magna parte pecuniae ex oppido noctu profugit; neque postea in ullo loco amplius una die, aut una nocte moratus, simulabat, sese negotii gratia properare; cæterum proditionem timebat, quam vitare posse celeritate putabat. Nam

ed, there fell such a vast quantity of rain, they tell you, that that alone would have been sufficient for the army, and more than sufficient. And provisions too were brought in greater plenty than was expected; because the Numidians, like most other people after a submission, had executed the orders given them, with extraordinary care. But the soldiers, from a superstitious whim, chose rather to use the rain, than river-water; and the thing animated them exceedingly; because they supposed by that, the immortal Gods took care of them. The day following, contrary to Jugurtha's expectation, they arrived at Thala. The towns-people, who imagined themselves sufficiently secured by the adjoining wilderness, being surprized at so great and uncommon an event, did, notwithstanding, prepare for a vigorous defence; as our men did, on the other hand, for the attack.

LXXIX. *But the King thinking now nothing impossible for Metellus, as who had by his industry conquered arms, places, times, and finally, nature itself, that rules over all tbings else; fled out of the town in the night-time, with his children, and a great part of his money; and never after stay'd above one day, or one night, in the same place; pretending himself to be upon business that required haste. But indeed he was afraid of being betrayed, which he hoped to prevent by his expedition; because such designs are usually hatched by virtue of those advantages, which a*

talia

talia consilia per otium & ex opportunitate capi. At Metellus ubi oppidanos prælio intentos, simul oppidum & operibus, & loco munitum videt, vallo, fossaque moenia circumvenit. Deinde jubet locis ex copia maxime idoneis vineas agere; superque eas aggerem jacere, & super aggerem impositis turribus opus & ministros tutari. Contra hæc oppidani festinare, parare; prorsus ab utrisque nihil reliquum fieri. Denique Romani, multo ante labore, præliisque fatigati, post dies quadraginta, quam eo ventum erat, oppido modo potiti; præda omnis a perfugis corrupta. Ii postquam murum arietibus feriri, resque suas afflictas vident, aurum, atque argentum, & alia, quæ prima ducuntur, domum regiam comportant; ibi vino, & epulis onerati, illaque, & domum, & semet ignicorrupti; & quas victi ab hostibus poenas metuerant, eas ipsi volentes pependere. Sed pariter cum capta Thala legati ex oppido Lepti ad Metellum venerant, orantes uti præsidium præfectumque eo mitteret; Hamilcarem quemdam, hominem nobilem, factiosum, novis rebus studere; ad vorsum

time of ease and rest affords. Metellus finding the towns-people resolved upon the defence of the place, and that it was well secured both by nature and art, draws a line of circumvallation quite round; and then orders his men to push up their vineæ in such places, as would most conveniently admit of them, to cast up a mount, and from towers erected thereupon, to defend the works, and those concerned therein. On the other hand, the townsmen were not idle, but provided all things for their defence. In short, nothing was left unattempted on either side. At length the Romans within forty days after they came before the place, with a world of fatigue and hard fighting, made themselves masters of it. But the plunder was all destroyed by the Roman deserters in town. For they, as soon as they found the rams begun to play upon the wall, and what a desperate case they were in, carry the gold and silver, and every thing else that was valuable, to the royal palace; and there, after they had glutted themselves with wine and good cheer, they destroyed all the treasure, and themselves too, by setting fire to the house; and voluntarily inflicted upon themselves the punishment, they apprehended from the enemy, if they fell into their hands. Just at the juncture when Thala was taken, some deputies came from the town of Leptis to Metellus, begging of him to send a garrison and a governor thither; that one Hamilcar there, a person of great birth and interest, was in a plot against the
quem

quem neque imperia magistratum, neque leges valerent; ni id festinaret in summa periculo suam salutem, illorum socios fore. Nam Leptitani jam inde a principio belli Jugurthini ad Bestiam Consulem, & postea Romanum miserant, amicitiam, societatemque rogatum. Deinde, ubi ea impetrata, semper boni, fidelesque mansere, & cuncta a Bestia, Albino, Metelloque imperata nave fecerant. Itaque ab imperatore facile, quae petebant, adepti. Emiliae eo cohortes Ligurum quattuor, & Caius Annius praefectus.

LXXX. Id oppidum ab Sidoniis conditum est, quos accipimus profugos ob discordias civilis navibus in eos locos venisse; cæterum situm inter duas Syrtis, quibus nomen ex re inditum. Nam duo sunt sinus prope in extrema Africa, impares magnitudine, pari natura; quorum proxima terræ præalta sunt; cætera, uti sors tulit alta; alia in tempestate vadosa. Nam ubi mare magnum esse, & sævire coepit ventis, limum arenamque, & saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt; ita facies locorum cum ventis simul mutatur. Syrtes ab tractu nominatae. Ejus civitatis lingua

government, and was like to be too strong for the magistrates and laws: unless he dispatch'd away the assistance forthwith, they, the allies of the Romans, would be in the utmost danger. *For the Leptitani, at the very beginning of the war with Jugurtha, had sent first to the Consul Bestia, and afterwards to Rome, to desire our friendship and alliance; and their request being granted, they remained true and trusty ever after; and punctually executed all orders received from Bestia, Albinus, and Metellus. Wherefore they found from the general a ready compliance with their desires. Four battalions of Ligurians were sent thither, under the command of C. Annius.*

LXXX. That town was built by the Sidonians, who, as tradition says, being obliged by civil broils at home to leave their native country, came by shipping into those parts. It is situated betwixt the two Syrtes, which are so called from the nature of them. For they are two bays almost in the extremity of Africa, unequal in bigness, but of like nature; whereof the parts nigh the shore are very deep; the rest are some deep, some shallow, especially much so in a storm. For when the sea begins to swell, and grow boisterous by the winds, the waves drag the mud, sand, and huge stones about, whereby the appearance of the places is perpetually changing with the wind; and from this dragging they are called Syrtes. The language of that town has undergone an alteration from modo

modo conversa connubio Numidarum ; legum, cultusque pleraque Sidonica ; quæ eo facilius retinebant, quod procul ab imperio regis ætatem agebant. Inter illos, & frequentem Numidiam multi vastique loci erant.

LXXXI. Sed, quoniam in has regiones per Leptitanorum negotia venimus, non indignum videtur, egregium, atque mirabile facinus duorum Carthaginienſum memorare ; eam rem nos locus admonuit. Qua tempestate Carthaginenses pleræque Africæ imperabant, Cyrenenses quoque magni, atque opulentι fuere. Ager in medio arenosus, una specie ; neque flumen, neque mons erat, qui finis eorum discerneret ; quæ res eos in magno diuturnoque bello inter se habuit. Postquam utrimque legiones, item classes ſæpe fusæ, fugatæque, & alteri alteros aliquantum attriverrant ; veriti, ne mox victos, victoresque defefos alius aggredetur, per inducias ſponſionem faciunt, uti certo die legati domo proficiſcerentur ; quo in loco inter se obvii fuiffent, is communis utriusque populi finis haberebatur. Igitur Carthagine

their intermarriages with the Numidians ; but most things in their laws, and way of living, are derived from the Sidonians ; which they retained the more easily, because of their being at so great a distance from the power and influence of the King of Persia. Betwixt them, and the well-inhabited parts of Numidia, lies a huge desert.

LXXXI. But since we are got into these parts, upon occasion of mentioning the Leptitani, I think it may not be amiss to give an account of an extraordinary wonderful action performed by two Carthaginians ; which the mention of Leptis puts me in mind of. At the time the Carthaginians ruled over the greatest part of Africa, the Cyrenians were a great and wealthy people. The country lying betwixt them and the Carthaginians was all sandy, without variety or distinction ; of one uniform appearance ; having neither river nor mountain, to fix the limits of each dominion ; which thing proved the occasion of a terrible and tedious war. After great losses had been sustained on each side by land, and by sea, to the weakening of both ; fearing lest some third people should fall upon the conquered and conquerors together, when weary, they came to a cessation of arms, and thereupon an agreement, that deputies should, upon a day appointed, depart from each place ; and where they met, should be the common boundary of their dominions. Accordingly two brothers, called Philænis, were sent from Carthage, who made their journey

duo fratres missi, quibus nomen Philænis erat, maturavere iter pergere; Cyrenenses tardius iere. Id sordidane, an casu acciderit, parum cognovi. Cæterum solet in illis locis tempestas haud secus, atque in mari retinere. Nam, ubi per loca æqualia, & nuda gigantium ventus coortus arenam humo excitavit, ea magna vi agitata, ora, oculosque implere solet; ita prospictu impedito, morari iter. Postquam Cyrenenses aliquanto posteriores se esse vident, & ob rem corruptam domi pœnas metuant; criminari Carthaginenses ante tempus domo digressos; conturbare rem; denique omnia malle, quam vieti abire. Sed cum Pœni aliam conditionem, tantummodo æquam, peterent, Græci optionem Carthaginensium faciunt, ut vel illi, quos finis populo suo peterent, ibi vivi obruerentur; vel eadem conditione se se, quem in locum vellent, processuros; Philæni, conditione probata, seque, vitamque suam reipublicæ condonavere; ita vivi obruti.

Carthaginenses in eo loco Philænis fratribus aras consecravere; aliquique illis domi honores instituti. Nunc ad rem redeo.

LXXXII. Jugurtha postquam, amissa Thala, nihil fatis firmum contra

with all due dispatch. But the Cyrenians were not so quick; whether through laziness, or some ill chance, I do not find. For in those parts, a storm will detain travellers effectually, as by sea. A wind arising upon that level and naked soil, heaves up the sand, and with great violence drives it in their faces and eyes; and so preventing their seeing the way before them, stops them. When the Cyrenians found themselves behind the other, fearing to be punished at home for their misconduct, they charged the Carthaginians with setting out before the time appointed for it; making a mighty bustle upon it, as being willing to do any thing, rather than go off baffled. The Carthaginians desiring any other way of deciding the matter, that was fair and equal, the Greeks made them this proposal, either to be buried alive there, where they were for fixing the boundary of their dominion, or that they would advance as far as they thought proper, upon the like condition. The Philæni accepting the offer, made a sacrifice of themselves, and their lives, to their country; and were buried alive. The Carthaginians dedicated altars in that place to the memory of the two brothers, the Philæni; and instituted several other honours to be paid to them at home. But now to my purpose again.

LXXXII. Jugurtha, after the loss of Thala, thinking nothing sufficiently secure against Metellus, fled Me-

Metellum putat ; per magnas solitudines cum paucis prosectus, pervenit ad Gætulos, genus hominum ferum, incultumque, & eo tempore ignarum nominis Romani. Eorum multitudinem in unum cogit ; ac paullatim consuefacit ordines habere, signa sequi, imperium observare, item alia militaria facere. Præterea regis Bocchi proximos magnis muneribus, & majoribus promissis ad studium sui perducit ; queis adjutoribus regem adgressus, impellit, uti adyorsum Romanos bellum suscipiat. Id ea gratia facilius, prouiusque fuit, quod Bocchus initio hujuscē belli legatos Romanam miserat, foedus, & amicitiam petitum. Quam rem opportunissimam incepto belli, pauci impediverant, cæci avaritia, queis omnia honesta, atque inhonesta vendemus erat. Etiam antea Jugurthæ filia Bocchi nupserat. Verum ea necessitudo apud Numidas, Maurosque levis ducitur ; quia singuli pro opibus, quisque quam plurimas uxores, denas alii, alii plures habent ; sed reges eo amplius. Ita animus multitudine distrahitur ; nullam pro sociâ obtinet ; pariter omnes viles sunt.

with a small retinue, through vast desarts, into the land of the Getulians, a wild unpolished people, unacquainted with the Roman name. He musters up a great number of them, and teaches them to form companies, follow their standards, observe command, and to behave in all respects like soldiers. He likewise by great presents, and greater promises, engages in his interest some of the greatest favourites of King Bocchus, by whose assistance he at last prevails with the King to undertake a war against the Romans. Which was the more easily brought about, because Bocchus, in the beginning of this war, had sent ambassadors to Rome, to treat upon an alliance with the Roman people. Which thing, tho' likely to prove of singular service in the war, yet some gentlemen, blinded with avarice, who were ready for any kind of work, honourable, or otherwise, if they were but well paid for it, had obstructed. Bocchus's daughter had likewise before this been married to Jugurtha. But the tye of affinity is little regarded amongst the Numidians, and Moors ; because with them every man may have as many wives as he can maintain ; and accordingly some have ten, others more ; but the Kings more than any body. Thus the mind being divided by the number, they look upon none as a friend or companion, but treat them all with contempt alike.

LXXXIII. Igitur in locum ambobus placitum exercitus conveniunt; ibi, fide data, & accepta, Jugurtha Bocchi animum oratione accedit; Romanos injustos, profunda avaritia, communes omnium hostis esse; eandem illos caussam belli cum Boccho habere, quam se-cum, & cum aliis gentibus, lubidinem imperiandi, queis omnia regna aduersa sint; tum sese, paullo ante Carthaginenses, item Regem Persen, post, uti quisque opulentissimus videatur, ita Romanis hostem fore. His, atque aliis talibus dictis, ad Cirtam oppidum iter constituunt; quod ibi Q. Metellus prædam, captivosque, & impedimenta locaverat. Ita Jugurtha ratus, aut capta urbe, operæ pretium fore; aut, si Romanus auxilio suis venisset, prælio sese certatos. Nam callidus id modo festinabat, Bocchi pacem imminuere; ne, moras agitando, aliud, quam bellum, mallet.

LXXXIV. Imperator postquam de regum societate cognovit, non temere, neque uti saepe jam victo Jugurtha consueverat, omnibus locis pugnandi copiam facit; cæ-

LXXXIII. Wherefore the two armies meet in a place appointed by the Kings; where, after they had pledged their faith to one another, Jugurtha fired the soul of Bocchus, by talking to the following effect; That the Romans were an unjust people, of insatiable avarice, and the common enemies of mankind. They had just as much cause of war with Bocchus, as with himself, and other nations, the lust of dominion, for the sake of which they looked upon all Kings as enemies. At that time he was; not long before the Carthaginians, and King Perse, had been their enemies; and so would every prince hereafter be, especially of considerable power and strength. After he had said this, and other things to the like purpose, they resolve to march together to the town of Cirta; because Q. Metellus had there lodged the booty and prisoners he had taken in the war, together with the baggage of the army. Jugurtha supposed the enterprize would either be well worth their while, if they took the city; or, if the Romans came to the assistance of their friends, a battle must ensue. For he stily endeavoured, with all the haste he could, to break the peace betwixt Bocchus and the Romans; lest, upon demurring, he should change his mind.

LXXXIV. When the Roman general heard of this alliance betwixt the two Kings, he does not upon all occasions, and in all places, as before, after Jugurtha had been several times defeated, offer the enemy battle; but pitching his

terum,

terum, haud procul ab Cirta castris munitis, reges opperitur; melius esse ratus, cognitis Mauris, quoniam is novus hostis accelerat, ex commodo pugnam facere. Interim Roma per litteras certior fit, provinciam Numidiam Mario datam. Nam Consulē factum ante acceperat. Quibus rebus supra bonum, aut honestum percussus, neque lacrumas tenere, neque moderari linguam; vir egregius in aliis artibus, nimis molliter ægritudinem pati. Quam rem alii in superbiam vortebant; alii bonum ingenium contumelia accensum esse; multi, quod jam parta victoria ex manibus eriperetur; nobis satis cognitum est, illum magis honore Marii, quam injuria sua excruciatum, neque tam anxie laturum fuisse, si adempta provincia alii, quam Mario, traderetur.

LXXXV. Igitur eo dolore impeditus, & quia stultitiae videbatur, alienam rem periculo suo curare, legatos ad Bocchum mittit, postulatum, ne sine cauffa hostis populo Romano fieret; habere eum magnam copiam societatis, amicitiae que conjungenda, quæ posteri bello esset; quam

camp not far from Cirta, he waits for the Kings; thinking it not proper to engage with the Moors, an enemy he was not yet acquainted with, but upon some advantage. In the mean time, he had notice by letters from Rome, that the province of Numidia was assigned to Marius. For he had heard before, that he was made Consul. With which things he was prodigiously affected, to a degree inconsistent with all equity and decency; insomuch that he could neither refrain from tears, or govern his tongue; and tho' he was an extraordinary person in other respects, yet under trouble of mind he was too impatient; which some imputed to his pride; others to a just resentment of the contumelious usage he had; many to a concern, that the victory he had got, should be snatched out of his hands. But it appears pretty plain to me, that he was more disturbed at the advancement of Marius, than the injury done to himself; and would not have borne it so heavily, if the province that was taken from him, had been given to any body else but Marius.

LXXXV. Wherfore, as well upon account of this resentment, as because it seemed a folly to take care of another man's business, at his own hazard, he dispatches messengers to Bocchus, to desire he would not become an enemy to the Roman people, without any occasion given for it. That he had now a fine opportunity of entering into the Roman alliance, which would be much better for him than a war.
quam

quam opibus suis confidet, tamen non debere incerta pro certis mutare; omne bellum sumi facile, cæterum ægerrume desinere; non in ejusdem potestate initium ejus, & finem esse; incipere cuivis etiam ignavo licere; deponi, cum viatores velint; proinde sibi, regnoque suo consuleret; neu florentis res suas cum Jugurthæ perditis misceret. Ad ea rex placide verba facit; *sese pacem cupere, sed Jugurthæ fortunarum misereri; si eadem illi copia fieret, omnia conventiona.* Rursus imperator, contra postulata Bocchi, nuncios mittit. Ille probare partim, alia abnuere. Eo modo, saepe ab utroque missis remissisque nunciis, tempus procedere, & ex Metelli voluntate bellum intacatum trahi.

LXXXVI. At Marius, ut supra diximus, cupientissima plebe Consul factus, postquam ei provinciam Numidiam populus jussit, antea jam infestus nobilitati, tum vero multus, atque ferox instare; singulos modo, modo universos lædere; dictitare, *sese Consulatum ex victis illis spolia cepisse;* alia præterea magnifica pro se, & illis dolentia; interim, quæ bello

What confidence soever he might repose in his own strength, yet he ought not to change certainties for uncertainties. That it was an easy matter to begin a war, but not so easy to end it; since the beginning and ending thereof were not in the same hands. Any coward might begin; but the end must depend upon the pleasure of the conqueror. Wherefore he advised him to have a care of doing any thing, that might affect the security of his person and kingdom; and not engage his happy circumstances in the desperate cause of Jugurtha. To this the King made a very smooth reply; That he was desirous of peace, but pitied the case of Jugurtha; if he might but have the same terms, they should soon agree. Again the Roman general sends messengers with an answer to Bocchus's demand; wherein something was granted, other things denied. And by sending messengers backward and forward in this manner, the time was spun out, and the war, as Metellus wished, kept at a stand.

LXXXVI. But Marius, as was said above, having been made Consul by the people with a very extraordinary zeal, and got by their grant too the province of Numidia, was now more violent and furious against the nobility than ever, tho' he was keen enough in that way before. Sometimes he would reflect upon them singly, sometimes upon the whole body; and would often say, that he had vanquished them, and had taken from them the Consulship, as spoil from a conquered enemy. And other things too he opus

opus erant, prima habere; postulare legionibus supplementum; auxilia a populis, & regibus, sociisque arcessere; præterea ex Latio fortissimum quemque, plerosque militia, paucos fama cognitos accire, & ambiendo cogere homines emeritis stipendiis proficiisci. Neque illi Senatus, quamquam aduersus erat, de ullo negotio abnuere audebat; cæterum supplementum etiam lætus decreverat; quia, neque plebi militiam volenti, putabatur, & Marius aut belli usum, aut studium vulgi amissurus. Sed ea res frustra sperata. Tanta lubido cum Mario eundi plerosque invaserat; se se quisque præda locupletem fore, victorem domum redditurum, alia hujuscemodi animis trahebant; & eos non paullum oratione sua Marius arrexit. Nam postquam, omnibus, quæ postulaverat, decretis, milites scribere vult, hortandi cauffa, simul & nobilitatem, uti consueverat, exagitandi, conscientem populi advocavit. Deinde hoc modo differuit.

LXXXVII. *Scio ego,
Quirites, plerosque non*

said boastingly of himself, and that heartily vex'd them. But the making of due preparations for the war, was his principal care. He demanded recruits for the army; sent for auxiliary forces from Kings and states in alliance with us; particularly from Latium he summoned the choicest men, most of them known well enough in the army, but few elsewhere. He did likewise by his persuasions prevail with old soldiers, that had served up their time in the wars, to engage in the service again. And tho' the Senate hated him, yet they durst refuse him nothing; nay, they were forward enough to vote him recruits; because it was supposed the commonalty would not much care for the service; and so Marius would either not be able to make his levies, or incur their displeasure by so doing. But herein they were balked; so fond were most of them of going along with Marius; each man flattering himself with the hopes of returning home victorious, and enriched with the spoils of war, or of other such like advantages. And Marius had, by a speech of his to them, contributed not a little to the raising of such expectations in them. For resolving, after what he desired had been voted for him, to raise recruits, he summoned the people to an assembly, as well to encourage them to favour his design, as to take occasion, according to his custom, of inveighing against the nobility. Both which he did in the following manner.

LXXXVII. I am sensible, gentlemen, that the generality of

iiidem

*tisdem artibus imperium a
vobis petere, & postquam
adepti sunt, gerere ; pri-
mū industrios, supplices,
modicos esse ; debine per
ignaviam, & superbiam
ætatem agere ; sed mihi
contra videtur. Nam, quo
universa respublica pluris
est, quam Consulatus, aut
Prætura, eo majore cura
illam administrari, quam
hæc peti debere. Neque
me fallit, quantum cum
maximo beneficio vestro
negotii sustineam. Bellum
parare, simul & ærario
parcere ; cogere ad militi-
am eos, quos nolis offendere ; domi,
forisque omnia
curare ; & ea agere inter
invidos, occursantis, factio-
rios ; opinione, Quiri-
tes, asperius est. Ad hoc,
alii si delinquere, vetus no-
bilitas, majorum facta for-
tia, cognatorum & affini-
um opes, multæ clientelæ,
omnia hæc præsidio ad-
sunt ; mihi spes omnes in
memet sitæ ; quas neceſſe
est & virtute, & inno-
centia tutari ; nam alia
infirma sunt. Et illud
intelligo, Quirites, om-
nium ora in me conversa
esse ; æquos, bonosque fa-
vere ; quippe benefacta
mea reipublicæ procedunt ;
nobilitatem locum inva-
dendi querere. Quo mihi
acrius admittendum est ;
uti neque vos capiamini,
& illi frustra sint. Ita*

such as apply to you for preſer-
ment in the state, behave not in
the same manner, after they have
compaffed their deſigns, as before.
At firſt they are industrious, ſub-
miſive, and moideſt ; after their
advaſtment, lazy and proud.
But I have quite diſferent feſti-
ments in the caſe. For as the good
of the community is of muſh
higher importance than the Con-
ſulate or Prætoriſhip, with juſt ſo
muſh the more care ought that to
be purſued, than theſe. Nor am
I inſenſible what a weight of bu-
niſhess your late kindneſs has laid up-
on me. To make preparations for
the war, and at the fame time to
be ſparing of the publick money ;
to oblige thoſe to the ſervice a-
broad, that one is loth to offend ; to
take care for the due management
of all affairs, both at home and a-
broad ; and this amidſt numbers of
envious, thwarting, factious people :
All this, I ſay, gentlemen, is di-
ſicult beyond imagination. Be-
fides, others, if they fail in the
performance of their duty, are
protected by their quality, the gal-
lant behaviour of their ances-
tors, the power of their relations and
friends, and their own numerouſe
depen-ſents. But all my hopes are
in myſelf. My good behaviour
and integrity muſt be my only pro-
tection ; for I have nothing elſe to
trut to. I am well aware too,
gentlemen, that the eyes of all
people are upon me ; that the juſt
and the good are my friends, as
being ſenſible of the ſervices I have
done my country ; but that the
nobility are watching all advan-
ad

*ad hoc ætatis a pueritia
fui, ut omnis labores, pe-
ricula conjueta habeam.
Quæ ante vestra beneficia
gratuito faciebam, ea uti,
accepta mercede, deferam,
non est consilium, Quiri-
tes. Illis difficile est in
potestatis temperare,
qui per ambitionem sese
probos simulavere; mihi,
qui omnem ætatem in
optumis artibus egi, bene
facere jam ex consuetu-
dine in naturam vertit.
Bellum me gerere cum
Jugurtha jussitis; quam
rem nobilitas ægerrume
tulit. Quæso, reputate
cum animis vestris, num id
mutari melius sit, si quem
ex illo globo nobilitatis ad
hoc, aut aliud tale nego-
tium mittatis, hominem
veteris prosapia, ac mul-
tarum imaginum, & nul-
lius stipendii; scilicet ut
in tanta re ignarus omni-
um trepidet, festinet, su-
mat aliquem ex populo
monitorem officii sui. Ita
plerumque evenit; ut,
quem vos imperare jussi-
tis, is sibi imperatorem
alium quærat.*

And so it commonly happens, that the person you have appointed to command, is obliged to get some body to command him.

LXXXVIII. *At ego
scio, Quirites, qui, post-
quam Consules facti sunt,
acta majorum, & Græco-
rum militaria præcepta
legere cœperint; homines*

ges to be upon me. And therefore I am the more obliged to use my utmost endeavours, that you may not be balked, but they may. I have from my youth up been inured to hardship and danger of all kinds. Which before your favours conferred upon me, I did solely out of a principle of generosity, I shall not, to be sure, gentlemen, neglect to do, now that I have received my reward. It is a hard matter to those to keep within any bounds, when possessed of power, who, to obtain it, only put on a counterfeit shew of goodness. But with me, who have spent all my days in the practice of the most laudable qualities, use is become a second nature. You have commanded me to make war with Jugurtha, to the great vexation of the nobility. I beseech you, consider with yourselves, whether it would not be better, to send upon this, or any other the like occasion, one of the tribe of the nobility, a man of an ancient and noble family, and that has never been in the service of his country abroad: Ay, why not? He would, tho' frightened and confounded in the midst of business, for want of experience, get some of the commons to direct him in his duty.

LXXXVIII. I have, indeed, gentlemen, known some, who, after they were made Consuls, read the noble actions of our ancestors, with the military instructions laid down by the Greeks. Preposterous
A a præ-

præposteri. Nam gerere, quam fieri, tempore posterius, re, atque usuprius est. Comparate nunc, Quirites, cum illorum superbia me hominem novum. Quæ illi audire, & legere solent, eorum partem vidi, alia egomet gessi ; quæ illi litteris, ea ego militando didici. Nunc vos existumate, facta, an dicta pluris sint. Contentiunt novitatem meam ; ego illorum ignaviam. Mibi fortuna, illis probra objectantur. Quamquam ego naturam unam, & communem omnium existumo, sed fortissimum quemque generosissimum. Ac si jam ex patribus Albini, aut Bestiæ queri posset, me ne, an illos ex se gigni maluerint ; quid responsuros creditis, nisi, se liberos quam optimos voluisse ? Quod si jure me despiciunt ; faciant idem majoribus suis ; quibus, uti mihi, ex virtute nobilitas cœpit. Invident honori meo ; ergo invideant labori, innocentiae, periculis etiam meis ; quoniam per hæc illum cepi. Verum homines corrupti superbia, ita ætatem agunt, quasi vestros honores contemnunt ; ita hos petunt, quasi honeste vixerint. Næ illi falsi sunt, qui diversissimas res pariter ex-

creatures ! For the management of an office is indeed posterior, in point of time, to the choice of the person to officiate ; but with respect to the qualifications necessary for the same, it is prior to it. Compare me, gentlemen, the first of my family that has attained to any considerable station in the government, with your haughty nobles. What they are accustomed only to hear and read, I have in part seen, and in part managed myself in person. What they have learnt from books, the same I have learnt by serving in the wars. Now do you yourselves judge, whether actions or words are of more account. They despise the meanness of my descent ; I despise their incapacity for business. I am upbraided with my fortune, they with their scandalous vices. Tho' I think the nature of man to be one and common to all, but that the bravest is the most noble. And if now the fathers of Albinus, or Bestia, could be consulted, whether they would rather have chosen me for their descendant, or them, what answer do you think they would make, but that they should have desired the most deserving men might have been their sons ? But if they have reason to despise me, let them do the same by their ancestors, whose nobility, like mine, took it's rise from their noble behaviour. They envy my advancement ; let them then envy my activity, my integrity, and dangers too ; because it was by these I attained to the former. But men corrupted with pride,
spectant,

spectant, ignaviae voluptatem, & præmia virtutis. Atque etiam cum apud vos, aut in Senatu verba faciunt, pleraque oratione majores suos extollunt; eorum fortia facta memorando clariores esse putant; quod contra est. Nam, quanto vita illorum præclarior, tanto horum socordia flagitiosior. Et profecto ita se res habet; majorum gloria posteris quasi lumen est, neque bona eorum, neque mala in occulto patitur. Hujusce rei ego inopiam patior, Quirites. Verum id, quod multo præclarius est, meamet facta mibi dicere licet. Nunc videte, quam iniqui sint. Quod ex aliena virtute sibi arrogant, id mihi ex mea non concedunt; scilicet quia imagines non habeo, & quia mibi nova nobilitas est; quam certe peperisse, quam acceptam corrupisse melius est.

no images of my fore-elders to shew, and because my nobility is of very late date; which it is certainly better for a man to be the founder of in his own family, than to be a disgrace to that received from his ancestors.

LXXXIX. Evidem ego non ignoror, si jam mihi respondere velint, abunde illis facundam, & compositam orationem fare. Sed in maximo vestro beneficio, cum omnibus locis me, vosque maledictis lacerent, non placuit reti-

live as if they despised the honours you have to bestow, and yet sue for them, as if they had lived honourably. Truly, they are much mistaken, who expect at once two things of very different nature, the pleasure of idleness, and the rewards of virtue. And when they harangue too before you, or in the Senate, they are ever running out into the praises of their ancestors, and think they receive a lustre from the relation of their noble actions; whereas it is quite the reverse. For the more illustrious their lives were, the more scandalous is the base behaviour of these their descendants. And indeed the case is thus. The glory of the ancients is a light held out before their posterity, that suffers neither their good or ill qualities to be concealed. This is what I want, gentlemen. But I can tell you of something else, which is much greater, my own actions. Now mind how unreasonable they are. What they arrogate to themselves from the noble behaviour of others, that they will not allow me to reap from my own; for no other reason truly, but that I have

LXXXIX. I know indeed, if they have a mind to reply upon me, they will find plenty of elegant polite language for the purpose. But however, since upon your late advancement of me to the high dignity I possess, they every where let loose their tongues against both you and me in the

tere; ne quis modestiam
in conscientiam duceret.
Nam me quidem, ex ani-
mi mei sententia, lade-
re nulla oratio potest.
Quippe vera, necesse est
bene praedicet; falsam,
vita moreque mei supe-
rant. Sed quoniam ve-
stra consilia accusantur,
qui mihi summum hono-
rem, & maximum negoti-
um imposuitis; etiam
atque etiam reputate, num
eorum pœnitendum sit.
Non possum, fidei caussa,
imagines, neque trium-
phos, aut Consulatus ma-
jorum meorum ostentare;
at, si res postulet, hastas,
vexillum, phaleras, alia
militaria dona, præterea
cicatrices adverso corpore.
Hæ sunt meæ imagines,
hæc nobilitas, non heredi-
tate relieta, ut illa illis,
sed quæ ego meis plurimis
laboribus, & periculis
quæsivi. Non sunt com-
posita verba mea; parvi
id facio; ipsa se virtus
satis ostendit; illis arti-
ficio opus est, ut turpia
facta oratione tegant.
Neque litteras Græcas
didici. Parum placebat
eas discere, quippe quæ ad
virtutem doctribus nihil
profuerunt. At illa multo
optuma reipublicæ doctus
sum; hostem ferire, præ-
judicium agitare, nihil me-
euere, nisi turpem fa-
mam; hiemem, & aesta-

vilest reproaches, I was resolved
not to be silent; lest any one should
take my modesty for an argument
of guilt. For indeed, their lan-
guage, in my opinion, cannot af-
fect me; since, if what they say
be true, it must be to my honour;
but if false, my life and behaviour
confute it. But because your con-
duct is blamed, who have laid upon
me the greatest honour, and
business of the highest importance,
consider again and again, whether
you have any occasion to repent
what you have done. I cannot in-
deed, to raise your confidence in
me, boast of the images, triumphs,
and Consulships of my ancestors;
but, if occasion requires, I can
shew you spears, a banner, horse-
trappings, and other military pre-
sents made me, with scars all over
my body before. These are my
images, this my nobility, not, like
theirs, left me by inheritance; but
procured by infinite hardships and
dangers. My language is unpol-
ish'd; that I little regard. My
virtue, without words, shews it-
self sufficiently. They stand in
need of all the art of eloquence, to
varnish over their infamous pranks.
I never applied myself to the Græ-
cian literature; nor did I care to
learn that, which rendered not the
teachers a whit the more virtuous
or able men. But I have been in-
structed in other things, highly
conducive to the publick good;
such as bravery and vigilance in
war; to dread nothing but an in-
famous character; to bear cold
and heat; to lodge upon the
ground; and endure, at the same

tem

*tem juxta pati, humi re-
quiescere; eodem tempore
inopiam, & laborem tole-
rare. His ego præceptis
milites hortabor; neque
illos arcte colam, me opu-
lenter; neque gloriam
meam laborem illorum fa-
ciam. Hoc est utile, hoc
civile imperium. Namque,
cum tute per mollitatem
agas, exercitum suppicio
cogere, id est, dominum
esse, non imperatorem.
Hæc, atque alia majores
vestri faciendo, seque, &
republicam celebravere.
Quis nobilitas freta, ipsa
diffimilis moribus, nos il-
lorum æmulos contemnit;
& omnis honores non ex
merito, sed quasi debitos,
a vobis repetit. Cæterum
homines superbissimi pro-
cul errant. Majores eo-
rum omnia, quæ licebat,
illis reliquere, divitias,
imagines, memoriam sui
præclaram; virtutem non
reliquere; neque pote-
rant; ea sola neque datur
dono, neque accipitur.*

XC. *Sordidum me, &
incultis moribus ajunt;
quia parum scite convivium
exorno; neque histriōnem
ullum, neque pluris pretii
coquum, quam villicum,
babeo. Quæ mihi lubet
confiteri, Quirites. Nam
& ex parente meo, & ex
aliis sanctis viris ita ac-
cepi, munditas mulieri-
bus, viris laborem conve-*

time, hunger and fatigue. With these lessons shall I animate my soldiers. Nor shall I treat them hardly, but myself with indulgence, or make their toil the matter of my glory. This manner of command is useful and modest. For to keep the soldiery, by severity, to strict discipline, whilst you take your ease yourself, is to act the part of a tyrant, not a general. By this, and the like conduct, did your ancestors render themselves, and the Roman state, famous in the world; which our nobility depending upon, tho' nothing like them in their behaviour, despise us that follow their glorious example; and demand from you all places of power and trust, not upon the foot of merit, as having deserved them, but as other ways their due. But those haughty gentry are very widely mistaken. Their ancestors left them all they could; riches, images, and their own glorious memory. But did not leave them their noble qualities; nor could they. Those are neither given, nor received.

XC. They upbraid me as a rough unpolished mortal; because I am not nice in my entertainments, or have a player, or cook, of higher price than my steward: all which I very frankly own, gentlemen. For I have learnt from my father, and other excellent persons, that niceness belongs to women, rugged industry to men; and that the brave ought to excell more in glory, than riches; that
nire,

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nire, omnibusque bonis
oportere plus gloriae, quam
divitiarum esse; arma, non
supellectilem, decori esse.
Quin ergo, quod juvat,
quod carum cibuntur, id
semper faciant; ament,
potent; ubi adolescentiam
habuere, ibi senectutem
agant, in conviviis, dediti
ventri, & turpissimae
parti corporis; sudorem,
pulverem, & alia talia
relinquant nobis, quibus
illa epulis jucundiora
sunt. Verum non est ita.
Nam, ubi se omnibus fla-
gitiis dedecoravere turpis-
jumi viri, honorum præ-
mia ereptum eunt. Ita
injustissime luxuria, &
ignavia, pessimae artes,
illis, qui coluere eas, nihil
officiunt, reipublicæ in-
noxiae cladi sunt. Nunc,
quoniam illis, quantum
mei mores, non illorum
flagitia poscebant, respon-
di; pauca de republica
loquar. Primum omnium
de Numidia bonum habe-
tote animum, Quirites;
nam, quæ ad hoc tempus
Jugurtham tutata sunt,
omnia removisti, avari-
tiam, imperitiam, superbi-
am. Deinde exercitus ibi
est locorum sciens, sed me-
hercule magis strenuus,
quam felix; nam magna
pars ejus avaritia, aut
temeritate ducum attrita
est. Quamobrem vos,
quibus militaris est ætas,

arms, and not fine furniture, was
an honour to such. Let them then
ever mind what pleases them, what
they hold so dear. Let them whore
and drink; and let them spend their
old days, as they did their young,
in revelling, and pampering their
bellies, and the vilest part about
them. Let them leave sweat and
dust, with other things of like kind,
to us, who prefer them before all
their fine entertainments. But this
they will not do. For after those
vilest of men have covered them-
selves with infamy, by the practice
of the most scandalous vices, they
will needs deprive the brave of the
rewards that are their due. Thus,
contrary to all justice, luxury and
idleness, the worst of qualities,
are no ways detrimental to those
who practice them; at the same
time that they prove of pernicious
consequence to the innocent com-
monwealth. And now having an-
swered them so far as my charac-
ter, not their infamous behaviour,
required; I shall add a word or
two in relation to the present state
of affairs. In the first place, as to
Numidia, have a good heart, gentle-
men; for you have removed all
that hitherto secured Jugurtha;
avarice, ignorance, and pride. There
is an army there indeed acquainted
with the country; but, upon my
word, active, rather than fortu-
nate. For the greatest part of it
has been destroyed by the avarice
or rashness of their commanders.
Wherefore you that are of an age
fit for war, join your endeavours
with mine, and stand by the pub-
lick; nor let any one conceive any
adni

adnitimini mecum, & capite rempublicam, neque quemquam ex calamitate aliorum, aut imperatorum: superbia metus ceperit. Egomet in agmine, in p̄œlio consultor idem, & focius periculi vobiscum adero; meque vosque in omnibus rebus juxta geram. Et profecto, diis juvantibus, omnia matura sunt, victoria, præda, laus; que si dubia, aut procul essent, tamen omnis bonos reipublicæ subvenire decet. Etenim ignavia nemo immortalis factus; neque quisquam parens liberis, uti æterni forent, optavit; magis, uti boni, honestique vitam exigere. Plura dicerem, Quirites, si timidis virtutem verba adderent; nam strenuis abunde dictum puto.

XCI. Hujuscemodi oratione habita, Marius postquam plebis animos arrectos videt, propere commeatu, stipendio, armis, aliisque utilibus navis onerat; cum his A. Manlium legatum profici jubet. Ipse interea milites scribere, non more majorum, neque ex classibus, sed uti cujusque libido erat, capite censos plerosque. Id factum alii inopia bonorum, alii per ambitionem Consulis memorabant; quod ab

apprehensions from the miscarriage of others, or the haughtiness of the commanders. I in march, in battle, will be your adviser; share every danger with you, and treat you, upon all occasions, no otherwise than I do myself. And indeed, with the help of the Gods, all things are now ready for you, victory, spoil, and glory; and tho' they were uncertain, and at a distance, yet would it become, nevertheless, all gallant men to support the cause of their country. For no man was ever rendered immortal by a lazy inactivity; nor did ever any father wish his sons might never die, but rather that they might live like brave and worthy men. I should say more, gentlemen, if words would put courage into cowards; for to the valiant, I think, I have said enough.

XCI. Marius perceiving the spirits of the people to be much elevated by this speech of his, ships, with all haste, provisions, money, and other things requisite for the war; and orders his lieutenant-general, A. Manlius, to go along with them. In the mean time he levies troops, not according to former usage, nor out of the several classes of the people, but volunteers only, and most of them of the very lowest rank. Which, some say, he did for want of better; but others, that he did it to render himself still more popular; because he had been much cried up and advanced by that

eo genere celebratus, auctusque erat; & homini potentiam quærenti egentissimus quisque opportunissimus; cui neque sua curæ, quippe quæ nulla sunt, & omnia cum pretio honesta videntur. Igitur Marius cum aliquanto majore numero, quam decretum erat, in Africam profectus, paucis diebus Uticam advehitur. Exercitus ei traditur a P. Rutilio legato. Nam Metellus conspectum Marii fugerat; ne videret ea, quæ audita animus tolerare nequiverrat.

XCII. Sed Consul, expletis legionibus, cohortibusque auxiliariis, in agrum fertilem, & præda onustum proficiscitur. Omnia ibi capta militibus donat; dein castella, & oppida natura, & viris parum munita adgreditur; proelia multa, cæterum alia levia aliis locis facere. Interim novi milites sine metu pugnæ adesse; videre fugientis capi, aut occidi; fortissimum quemque tutissimum; armis libertatem, patriam, parentesque, & alia omnia tegi; gloriam, atque divitias quæri. Sic brevi spatio novi, veteresque coaluere, & virtus omnium æqualis facta. At reges ubi de adventu

sort of people; and to a man ambitious of power, the most needy are the most fit for his purpose; as who regard nothing of their own, having nothing to regard, and thinking every thing honourable, that is but gainful. Wherefore Marius setting sail for Africa, with a number of troops, somewhat larger than what had been voted for him, in a few days arrives at Utica. Where the army was delivered up to him by the lieutenant-general P. Rutilius. For Metellus declined coming near Marius, for fear of seeing those things, which he could not so much as hear with patience.

XCII. But the Consul having compleated his legions, and the auxiliary battalions, out of his new levies, directs his march into a fruitful country, full of plunder; where he made a present of all he took to the soldiers. Then he fell upon such forts and towns as were neither very strong, nor well garrisoned. He fought likewise several battles in different places, but not considerable. In the mean time, the new-raised men, from the easiness of the service, were under no apprehensions. They saw such as fled taken prisoners, or slain; whilst the bravest were still the safest. That liberty, their country, parents, and every thing else were secured, and glory and riches got, by arms. Thus, in a short time, the new and the old soldiers embodied, and were upon a par in point of courage. But the two Kings, as Ma-

Marii cognoverunt, diversi in locos difficilis abeunt. Ita Jugurthæ placuerat, speranti, mox effusos hostis invadi posse; Romanos, sicuti plebosque, remoto metu laxius, licentiusque futuros.

soon as they heard of Marius's arrival, retired different ways into places of difficult access. This was Jugurtha's contrivance, in hopes that the enemy in a little time, by not keeping close together, might afford an opportunity of falling on them to good advantage; as supposing the Romans, like most other men, when their apprehensions of an enemy were removed, would be more loose and licentious.

XCIII. Metellus intea Romam profectus, contra spem suam lætissimis animis accipitur; plebi, patribusque, postquam invidia deceperat, juxta carus. Sed Marius impigre, prudenterque suorum, & hostium res pariter attendere; cognoscere quid boni utrisque, aut contra esset; explorare itinera regum; consilia, & insidias eorum antevenire; nihil apud se remissum, neque apud illos tutum pati. Itaque & Gætulos, & Jugurtham, ex sociis nostris prædas agentis, saepe aggressus itinere fuderat, ipsumque regem haud procul ab oppido Cirta armis exuerat. Quæ postquam gloria modo, neque belli patrandi cognovit, statuit urbis, quæ viris, aut loco pro hostibus, & aduersum se opportunissimæ erant, singulas circumvenire; ita Jugurtham aut præsidiis nuda-

In the mean time Metellus, upon his arrival in Rome, was, contrary to his expectations, very joyfully received; being equally acceptable to the commons, and the Senate, now that the spirit of envy had left them. But Marius, with all possible application and prudence, weighing well the circumstances of the enemy, and his own, discovered thereby what was advantageous for each, or otherwise. He watched all the movements of the two Kings, prevented all their plots and designs; suffered no remissness in his own men, or security with the enemy. Accordingly he had oftentimes, when upon a march, attacked and routed, both the Getulians, and Jugurtha, as they were making off with the spoils they had got from our allies; and disarmed the King himself, not far from the town of Cirta. But finding all this, how specious an appearance soever it made, availed nothing towards bringing the war to a conclusion, he resolved to invest all the cities, that by their number of people and situation, gave the enemy any advantage against us; since Jugurthum

tum, si ea pateretur, aut prælio certaturum. Nam Boëchus nuncios ad eum saepe miserat, vello populi Romani amicitiam, ne quid ab se hostile timeret. Id simulaverit ne, quo improvisus gravior accederet, an mobilitate ingenii pacem, atque bellum mutare solitus, parum exploratum est.

XCIV. Sed Consul, uti statuerat, oppida, castellaque munita adire; partim vi, alia metu, aut præmia ostentando, avortere ab hostibus. Ac primo mediocria gerebat, existumans Jugurtham ob suos tutandos in manus venturum. Sed ubi illum procul abesse, & aliis negotiis intentum accepit; majora, & magis aspera aggredi tempus visum est. Erat inter ingentis solidudines oppidum magnum, atque valens, nomine Capsa; cuius conditor Hercules Libys memorabatur. Ejus cives apud Jugurtham immunes, levi imperio, & ob ea fidelissimi habebantur; muniti adorsum hostis non inenibus modo, & armis, atque viris, verum etiam multo magis locorum asperitate. Nam, præter oppido

tha by that means, would either be stript of those strong holds, if he suffered it, or else engage in battle. For Boëchus had frequently sent messengers to him, to let him know, that he was desirous of the friendship of the Roman people, and that Marius need not fear any hostilities from him. Whether he only pretended so, that he might fall the heavier upon him by surprize, or through the fickleness of his temper, he was accustomed never to persist long in either peace or war, I have not been able to discover.

XCIV. But the Consul, according to his resolution, now went to work with the towns and castles of any strength; some of which he took by assault; others he brought over to him by threats or promises. At first indeed he only attempted small places, supposing Jugurtha, to protect his subjects, would come to a battle with him. But when he found that he was at a considerable distance from him, taken up with other affairs, he thought it time to attack the larger towns, and such as were more difficult to take. There was in the midst of a vast wilderness, a great and strong town, by name Capsa; the builder whereof was said to be Hercules the Libyan. The people thereof were excused from the payment of taxes; and being under a very gentle government in other respects too, were therefore thought very faithful to Jugurtha; and they were secured against an enemy, not only by their walls, arms, and men, but much more by the situation of the place. For, excepting the pro-

propinqua, alia omnia vasta, inculta, egentia aquæ, infesta serpentibus; quarum vis, sicuti omnium ferarum, inopia cibi acrior; ad hoc, natura serpentum ipsa perniciosa, siti magis, quam alia re accenditur. Ejus potiundi Marium maxima cupido invaserat, cum propter usum belli, tum quia res aspera videbatur; & Metellus oppidum Thalam magna gloria celerat, haud dissimiliter situm, munitumque; nisi quod apud Thalam non longe a mœnibus aliquot fontes erant; Capsenses una modo, atque ea intra oppidum jugi aqua, cætera pluvia utebantur. Id ibique, & in omni Africa, quæ procul a mare incolitus agebat, eo facilius tolerabatur, quia Numidæ plerumque lacte, & serina carne vescebantur, neque salem, neque alia irritamenta gulæ quærebant. Cibus illis adorsum famem, atque sitim, non libidini, neque luxuriæ erat.

XCV. Igitur Consul, omnibus exploratis, credo diis fretus, nam contrariantas difficultates consilio satis providere non poterat; quippe etiam frumenti inopia tentabatur, quod Numidæ pa-

parts nigh the town, all the rest of the country about it was waste and uncultivated, without water, and infested with serpents, who, like all other wild beasts, are made keener by want of food; besides, the nature of serpents, mischievous enough in itself, is inflamed by thirst, above all things. Marius was very desirous of mastering this place, as well for the better convenience of carrying on the war, as because it seemed a matter of vast difficulty; and because Metellus had acquired much reputation, by the taking of Thala, a town for situation and strength much like Capsa; but that at Thala, there were some springs not far from the town. The Capsensians had but one spring, and that within the town, which flowed the year round; all the water they had besides, was from the heavens. This scarcity of water both there, and in other parts of Africa, which lying at a distance from the sea, were but indifferently cultivated, was the more easily borne, because the Numidians live mostly upon milk, and the flesh of wild beasts, without the use of salt, or any other seasoning or sawce, to whet the appetite. Their food was designed against hunger and thirst, and not made subservient to whimsy and luxury.

XCV. Wherefore the Consul having strictly examined into all circumstances, proceeds in his design; depending, I suppose, upon the Gods; for he could hardly, by any contrivance of his own, provide effectually against so many difficulties; for he was but poorly
B b 2

bulo pecoris magis, quam arvo, student, &c, quodcumque natum fuerat, jussu regis in loca munita contulerant; ager autem aridus, & frugum vacuus ea tempestate; nam aestatis extremum erat; tamen pro rei copia satis providenter exornat; pecus omne, quod superioribus diebus praedae fuerat, equitibus auxiliariis agendum attribuit; A. Manlium legatum cum cohortibus expeditis ad oppidum Laris, ubi stipendium, & commeatum locaverat, ire jubet; dicitque se praedabundum post paucos dies eodem venturum. Sic incepto suo occultato, pergit ad flumen Tanam.

XCVI. Cæterum in itinere quotidie pecus exercitui per centurias, item turmas æqualiter distri-buerat; & ex coriis utres uti fierent, curabat; simul & inopiam frumenti lenire, & ignaris omnibus, parare, quæ mox usui forent; denique sexto die, cum ad flumen ventum est, maxuma vis utrium effecta. Ibi castris levi munimento positis, milites cibum capere, atque, uti simul cum occasu solis egredierentur, paratos esse jubet; omnibus sarcinis abjectis, aqua modo seque, & jumenta onerare. Dein,

supplied with corn, because the Numidians apply themselves more to grazing than tillage; and what corn there was, had, by the King's order, been carried off into fortified towns. The land too was parched, and afforded nothing at that time, being the end of summer. Yet, considering all circumstances, he provided pretty well for the supply of his army. He gave the cattle they had picked up some days before, to the auxiliary horse to drive; orders Aulus Manlius, his lieutenant-general, to march with a light detachment of foot to a town called Laris, where he had laid up the money for the pay of the army, and provisions; and tells him, that he would in a few days come to the same place a plundering. Thus concealing his design, he goes to the river Tana.

XCVI. But in his march he daily distributed cattle to the several foot-companies, and troops of horse, in the army; and took care for the making of leatheren bottles out of their hides; at once to make amends to them for their want of corn, and to provide, whilst all people were ignorant of his intentions, such things as would be of use to him; so that upon his arrival six days after at the river, a great quantity of leatheren bottles were made. Then pitching a camp with a slight fortification, he orders the soldiers to refresh themselves, and to be ready for a march at sun-set; as also to lay aside all other baggage, and load themselves, and their beasts of bur-

postquam tempus visum, castris egreditur; noctemque totam itinere facto, consedit; idem proxuma facit. Dein tertia multo ante lucis adventum pervenit in locum tumulosum, ab Capsa non amplius duum millium intervallo; ibique, quam occultissime potest, cum omnibus copiis opperitur. Sed, ubi dies coepit; & Numidæ nihil hostile metuentes, multi oppido egressi; repente omnem equitatum, & cum his velocissimos pedites cursu tendere ad Capsam, & portas obfidere jubet; deinde ipse intentus propere sequi, neque milites prædari sinere. Quæ postquam oppidani cognovere; res trepidæ, metus ingens, malum improvsum, ad hoc pars civium extra moenia in hostium potestate, coegerent, uti ditionem facerent. Cæterum oppidum incensum; Numidæ puñeres interfecti; alii omnes venumdati; præda militibus divisa. Id facinus contra jus belli non avaritia, neque scelere Consulis admissum; sed quia locus Jugurthæ opportunus, nobis aditu difficilis; genus hominum mobile, infidum, ante neque beneficio, neque metu coercitum.

den, with water only. Then, at the time appointed, he draws out of the camp, and marching all night, encamped again. The same he did the next night too; and in the third, he arrived a little before day at a hill, not above two miles from Capsa; and there he stays, as privately as possible, with all his army. But as soon as day appeared, and the Numidians, as being under no apprehensions at all of an enemy, many of them came out of the town; on a sudden he orders all his horse, and with them the nimblest of the foot, to make directly for Capsa with all speed, and secure the gates. At the same time he follows them with all diligence and expedition, and suffers not the soldiers to plunder. When the towns-people found this, they were in the utmost confusion and fright, with so unexpected a calamity; and as part of their people were without the wall, in the hands of the enemy, they found it necessary to surrender. Yet notwithstanding, the town was burnt, the Numidians of age put to the sword, all the rest sold, and the plunder of the place given to the soldiers. This piece of execution, contrary to the right of war, was not occasioned by the avarice or cruelty of the Consul; but from a consideration, that the place was very advantageous for Jugurtha, and difficult for us to come at; the people too being fickle and faithless, and by no means, fair or foul, to be wrought upon.

XCVII. Postquam tantam rem Marius sine ullo suorum incommodo patravit ; magnus, & clarus antea, major, atque clarior haberi coepit ; omnia non bene consulta in virtutem trahebantur. Milites modesto imperio habitu, simul & locuplettes, ad cælum ferre ; Numidæ magis, quam mortalem, timere ; postremo omnes socii, atque hostes credere, illi aut mentem divinam esse, aut Deorum nutu cuncta portendi. Sed Consul, ubi ea res bene evenit, ad alia oppida pergit ; pauca, repugnantibus Numidis, capit ; plura, deserta propter Capsenium miseras, igni corrumpit ; luctu, atque cæde omnia complentur. Denique multis locis potitus, ac plerisque exercitu incruento, aliam rem aggreditur, non eadem asperitate, qua Capsenium, cæterum haud secus difficilem. Namque haud longe a flumine Muluchæ, quod Jugurthæ, Bocchique regnum disjungebat, erat inter cæteram planiciem mons saxeus, mediocri castello, fatis patens, in immensum editus, uno per angusto aditu relicto ; nam omnis natura, velut opere, atque consulto, præceps. Quem locum

XCVII. After Marius had executed this so important a project, without any detriment to his own troops, tho' he was great and famous before, he now begun to be look'd upon as greater and more famous ; and all his performances, tho' but ill advised, were placed to the account of his good conduct. The soldiers too being under a very gentle command, and at the same time enriched with plunder, cried him up to the heavens ; and the Numidians dreaded him as something more than man. In short, all, both allies and enemies, did really believe he had either a divine mind in him, or that all things were signified to him by the intimation of the Gods. But the Consul, after this success, marches against some other towns. Some, where he met with opposition from the Numidians, he takes by force ; but most of them, being deserted because of the terrible usage of the Capsenians, he burnt to the ground. And so all parts are filled with mourning and slaughter. Finally, having made himself master of many places, and most of them without loss of blood, he goes upon another design, of full as much difficulty, but not of the same nature as that against the Capsenians. For, not far from the river Muluca, which divided the kingdoms of Jugurtha and Bocbus, there was, in the midst of a plain, a rocky mountain, with a small castle upon it. The mountain was large, and vastly high, with one only very strait way up to the top. For it was by nature steep on all sides, as

Marius, quod ibi regis thesauri erant, summa vi capere intendit; sed ea res forte, quam consilio, melius gesta. Nam castello virorum, atque armorum satis magna vis, & frumenti, & fons aquæ; aggeribus, turribusque, & aliis machinationibus locus importunus; iter castellanorum angustum admodum, utrumque præcium; vineæ cum ingenti periculo frustra agebantur. Nam cum eas paullo processerant, igni, aut lapidibus corrumpebantur; milites neque pro opere confisterent, propter iniquitatem loci; neque inter vineas sine periculo administrare; optumus quisque cadere, aut sauciari; cæteris metus augeri.

XCVIII. At Marius, multis diebus, & laboribus consumptis, anxius trahere cum animo suo, omitteret ne incœptum, quoniam frustra erat; an fortunam opperiretur; qua sepe prospere usus fuerat. Quæ cum multos dies, noctesque æstuans agitaret, forte quidam Ligus, ex cohortibus auxiliaris miles gregarius, castris aquatum egressus, haud procul ab latere castelli, quod adorsum

if it had been designedly made so by the hands of men. Which place Marius attempts with all his might and main to take, because the King's treasure was lodged there; and succeeded in his attempt, more by chance, than good management. For there was in the castle store of men, arms, and corn, with a spring of water. And the place was rendered still more troublesome to take, by ramparts, castles, and other works. The way up to the castle was very narrow, with a precipice on both sides; the pushing of vineæ along which was attended with vast hazard, and signified nothing. For after they had advanced a little, they were destroyed by fire, or great stones. The soldiers were neither able to stand before their works, because of the great disadvantage or inconvenience of the ground; nor could they manage their business within the vineæ, without danger. The bravest of them were either slain or wounded, and the rest sadly discouraged.

XCVIII. But Marius, after he had spent many days and much pains to no purpose, was in huge doubt with himself, whether he should drop his undertaking, which had hitherto proved in vain, or wait some lucky turn of fortune, which he had often found favourable to him. Whilst he was taken up with these thoughts for several days and nights together, by chance a certain Ligurian, a common soldier of the auxiliary battalions, going out of the camp to get water, observed some snails creeping among the stones, not far from that side of

præ-

prælianibus erat, animadvertisit inter saxa repentes cochleas; quarum cum unam, atque alteram, dein plures peteret, studio legundi, paullatim prope ad summum montis egressus est. Ubi postquam solitudinem intellectus; more humanæ cupidinis ignara visundi animum vortit. Et forte in eo loco grandis ilex coauerat inter saxa, paullum modo prona, deinde inflexa, atque aucta in altitudinem, quo cuncta gignentium natura fert; cuius ramis modo, modo eminentibus saxis nifus Ligus, castelli planiciem perscribit; quod cuncti Numidæ intenti prælianibus aderant. Exploratis omnibus, quæ mox usui fore ducebat, eadem regreditur, non temere, uti ascenderat, sed tentans omnia, & circumspiciens. Itaque Marium propere adit; acta edocet; hortatur, ab ea parte, qua ipse ascenderat castellum tenet; pollicetur se itineris periculique ducem. Marius cum Ligure, promissa ejus cognitum ex præsentibus misit; quorum, uti cujusque ingenium erat, ita rem difficultem, aut facilem nunciarere. Consulis animus tamen paullum arrectus. Itaque ex copia tubici-

the castle, which was opposite to the besiegers. After he had picked up a few of them, from a desire of having more, he was by little and little got almost up to the top of the mountain. And finding all quiet in that quarter, from a curiosity, natural to man, of prying into things unknown, he looks about him. By chance, in the place where he was, there grew a great oak-tree out of the side of the rock, with the bole tending downwards a little; but presently taking a turn, and mounting up to a vast height, as all things that grow out of the earth naturally tend upwards. The Ligurian climbing up one while by the boughs of this tree, another while by pieces of the rock standing out from the rest, takes a pretty good survey of the plain of the castle; because all the Numidians were busily engaged in fight with the besiegers. After he had made such observations as he thought might be of service, he returns the same way as he came; not carelessly, as he went up, but trying and viewing all things well, as he went along. Upon this, he applies himself to Marius in all haste; tells him what he had done, and advises him to make an attempt upon the castle, on that side, where he went up; and promises him, that he would lead the way, and be the foremost in the danger. Marius sends some of those that attended him along with the Ligurian, to see whether what he promised was feasible, or no; who brought word, according to their different tempers; some, that the matter was difficult; others, that num,

B E
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XC
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dub
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fæpi
desc
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BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 201

num, & cornicinum, numero quinque quam velocissimos delegit, & cum his, præsidio qui forrent, quatuor centuriones; omnisque Liguri parare jubet; & ei negotio proximum diem constituit.

XCIX. Sed ubi ex præcepto tempus visum; paratis, compositisque omnibus, ad locum pergit. Cæterum illi, qui centuriis præerant, prædocti ab duce, arma, ornatumque mutaverant, capite, atque pedibus nudis, uti prospectus, nifusque per faxa facilius foret; super terga gladii, & scuta; verum ea Numidica ex coriis, ponderis gratia; simul & offensa, quo levius streperent. Igitur prægrediens Ligus, faxa, & si quæ vetustate radices eminebant, laqueis vinciebat, quibus allevati milites facilius ascenderent, interdum timidos insolentia itineris levare manu; ubi paullo asperior adscensus erat, singulos præ se inermos mittere; deinde ipse cum illorum armis sequi; quæ dubia nisi videbantur, potissimum tentare; ac sæpius eadem adscendens, descendensque dein statim digrediens, cæteris

it was easy. However, the mind of the Consul was roused upon the occasion. Wherefore he chuses out of all the trumpeters, belonging to both horse and foot, five of the swiftest, and four centurions to go along with them as a guard; ordering them to follow the direction of the Ligurian; and appoints the next day for the execution of the design.

XCIX. When the time fixt was come, the Ligurian having provided and got all things ready for the busines, goes to the place. But the centurions, as they had been instructed by him, had changed their arms and dress, being bare-headed and bare-foot too, that they might look about them, and climb the rock with more ease. Their swords and shields were upon their backs. The latter were of the Numidian kind, made of hides for lightness, and that they might not make a noise, if they chanced to dash against the rock. The Ligurian mounted first, and tied cords about the stones, or old tree-roots which stuck out here and there, for the soldiers to climb up by. Sometimes, when they were discouraged by the extraordinary ruggedness of their passage, he would lend them a hand to give them a lift. Where the ascent was a little more difficult than ordinary, he sent them up unarmed before him, and then followed himself with their arms. And places, where it seemed doubtful whether they could pass or no, he tried; and by going up and down the same several times, and then advancing again, encouraged the rest to fol-
C C auda-

audaciam addere. Igitur diu, multumque fatigati, tandem in castrum perveniunt, desertum ab ea parte; quod omnes, sicuti aliis diebus, adorsum hostes aderant. Marius, ubi ex nunciis, quæ Ligus egerat, cognovit; quamquam tota die intentos prælio Numidas habuerat, tum vero cohortatus milites, & ipse extra vineas egressus, testudine acta succedere, & simul hostem tormentis, sagittariisque, & funditoribus eminus terrere. At Numidæ, saepe antea vineis Romanorum subversis, item incensis, non castelli mœnibus se se tabantur; sed pro muro dies, noctesque agitare; maledicere Romanis, ac Mario vecordiam objectare; militibus nostris Jugurtha servitum minari; secundis rebus feroes esse. Interim, Romanis omnibus, hostibusque prælio intentis, magna utrumque vi, pro gloria atque imperio his, illis pro salute certantibus, repente a tergo signa canere; ac primo mulieres, & pueri, qui visum processerant, fugere; deinde, uti quisque muro proximus erat, postremo cuncti armati, inermesque. Quod ubi accidit, eo acrius Romani instare, fundere, ac

low. After a tedious deal of fatigue, they come to the castle, which was naked on that side, because the whole garrison, as on other days, were attending the motions of the besiegers. When Marius was informed by messengers, what the Ligurian had done, tho' he had kept the Numidians under a constant alarm all day long, yet then encouraging his men, he sallied out of the vineæ, and forming a testudo, advanced towards the wall of the castle, and at the same time terrified the enemy with his engines, archers and slingers, at a distance. But the Numidians having often before ruined the vineæ of the Romans, and burnt them, did not use to defend themselves with their walls, but posted themselves before them day and night; railing at the Romans, and upbraiding Marius with madness. They threatened our soldiers too, that they should be all slaves to Jugurtha; and were hugely elevated with their advantage. In the mean time, while the Romans and the enemies were intent upon the fight, which was warmly carried on on both sides; one party contending eagerly for glory and dominion, and the other for their lives; on a sudden the trumpets sounded in the rear of the enemy. And first the women and children, who ran to see what the matter was, fled; after them those nearest the wall; and after them all the rest, both armed and unarmed. Upon which the Romans pushed forward with more violence in pursuit of them. The most of them they only wounded, making

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plerisque tantummodo
sauciare, dein super occi-
orum corpora vadere,
avidi gloriæ certantes
murum petere; neque
quemquam omnium
præda morari. Sic forte
correcta Marii temeritas,
gloriam ex culpa invenit.

C. Cæterum, dum ea
res geritur, L. Sulla quæ-
stor cum magno equitatu
in castra venit; qui, uti
ex Latio, & a sociis exer-
citum cogeret, Romæ
relictus erat. Sed quoni-
am nos tanti viri res ad-
monuit; idoneum visum
est, de natura, cultuque
eius paucis dicere. Neque
enim alio loco de Sullæ
rebus dicturi sumus; &
L. Sisenna optime, &
diligentissime omnium,
qui eas res dixerunt, perse-
cutus, parum mihi libero
ore locutus videtur. Igi-
tur Sulla gentis patriciæ
nobilis fuit, familia prope
jam extincta majorum
ignavia, litteris græcis,
atque Latinis juxta, atque
doctissime eruditus, ani-
mo ingenti, cupidus vo-
luptatum, sed gloriæ cu-
pidior; otio luxurioso
esse; tamen ab negotiis
numquam voluptas re-
morata, nisi quod de ux-
ore potuit honestius con-
suli; facundus, callidus,
& amicitia facilis; ad sim-
ulanda negotia altitudo
ingenii incredibilis; mul-

*their way in all haste over the bo-
dies of the slain to the wall; all
greedy of glory, and not to be di-
verted by a regard to plunder.
Thus the rash conduct of Marius
being happily corrected, made even
a fault in him turn to his glory.*

C. During this transaction, his
Quæstor L. Sulla, came with a
great body of horse to the camp,
who had been left at Rome to draw
together the troops furnished by the
Latins, and our allies. But as the
thread of the story has led us to the
mention of this man, I judge it
may not be amiss to give his charac-
ter in a few words; for I shall
have no further occasion to take no-
tice of him; and L. Sisenna, who
has given us his history with the
greatest accuracy and exactness, of
all that have pretended to write it,
does not, however, appear to me
to lay down his character with all
the freedom, that was requisite.
Sulla was of a Patrician family,
but almost extinct by the want of
spirit and activity in his ancestors.
He was well educated in all the
learning both of Greece and Rome;
of a great soul; a lover of pleasure,
but yet fonder of glory. He would,
in a time of leisure, be guilty of a
luxurious indulgence; but was ne-
ver hindered by his pleasures from
the prosecution of business, except-
ing only the case of his marriage,
in which he might have acted more
for his honour. He was eloquent,
artful, and open to any that sought
his friendship; had a prodigious
talent for dissimulation, and would

tarum rerum, ac maxime pecuniae largitor; atque illi, felicissimo omnium ante civilem victoriam; numquam super industriam fortuna fuit; multique dubitavere, fortior, an felicior esset. Nam, postea quae fecerit, incertum habeo, pudeat an pigeat differere.

CI. Igitur Sulla, ut supra dictum est, postquam in Africam, atque in castra Marii cum equitatu venit, rudis antea, & ignarus belli, sollertiaffimus omnium in paucis tempestatibus factus est. Ad hoc milites benigne appellare; multis rogantibus, aliis per se ipse dare beneficia, invitus accipere; sed ea properantius, quam æs mutuum, reddere; ipse ab nullo repetere; magis id laborare, ut illi quam plurimi deberent; joca, atque seria cum humillum agere; in operibus, in agmine, atque ad vigilias multus adesse; neque interim, quod prava ambitio solet, Consulis, aut cuiusquam boni famam laedere; tantummodo neque consilio, neque manu priorem alium pati plerosque antevenire. Quibus rebus, & artibus brevi Mario, militibusque carissimum factus.

readily part with any thing to shew his generosity, especially money. And tho' he was, before the civil war, the most fortunate of all men; yet his fortune was never superior to his industry; insomuch that many have made a question of it, whether he was more brave, or more fortunate. For as to his behaviour in the civil war, I am uncertain, whether the relation of it would give me more of shame or sorrow.

CI. When Sulla, as has been before said, was come into Africa, and arrived at Marius's camp with the horse, tho' he had been before unskilled and ignorant in the art of war, yet in a short time he became the ablest man that way in the army. Besides, he was very complaisant in his address to the soldiers. He granted favours to many upon their request; to others without it, of his own accord, whilist he cared not to receive any himself; but when he did, would be in more haste to repay them, than a debt; tho' he never demanded any return from others, but rather made it his business to have others as much indebted to him as possible. He would engage either in serious or merry conversation with persons of the lowest rank. He was sure to be every where with the soldiers in their encampments, marches, and upon the watch. Nor did he in the mean time, what wicked ambition is apt to prompt men to, go about to lessen the character of the Consul, or any other worthy man whatever. He only would not suffer any one to outstrip him in counsel, or action;

tion; and excelled most. By all which behaviour, in a short time he rendered himself highly acceptable to Marius, and the whole army.

CII. At Jugurtha postquam oppidum Capsam, aliosque locos munitos, & sibi utilis, simul & magnam pecuniam amiserat; ad Bocchum nuncios mittit, quam primum in Numidiam copias adduceret; praelii faciundi tempus adesse. Quem ubi cunctari accepit, dubium belli, atque pacis rationes trahere; rursus, uti antea, proximos ejus donis corrumpit; ipsique Mauro pollicetur Numidiae partem tertiam, si aut Romani Africa expulsi, aut, integris suis finibus, bellum compostum foret. Eo praemio illectus Bocchus, cum magna multitudine Jugurtham accedit. Ita, amborum exercitu coniuncto, Marium jam in hiberna proficiscentem, vix decima parte die reliqua invadunt, rati noctem, quae jam aderat, victis sibi munimento fore; &, si vicissent, nullo impedimento, quia locorum scientes erant; contra Romanis utrumque casum in tenebris difficultorem fore. Igitur simul Consul ex multis de hostium adventu cognovit; & ipsi hostes aderant; & prius quam exercitus aut

CII. But Jugurtha, after he had lost Capsa, with other strong holds of great use to him, and a vast treasure besides; sends away messengers to Bocchus, to hasten his march into Numidia; because it was now time, he said, to give the enemy battle. But finding him demur upon the matter, and doubtful with himself what course to take, whether that of war or peace; he again, as he had done before, bribes those about him to his interest, and promises the Moor himself a third part of Numidia, if the Romans should be driven out of Africa, or be left in the possession of his dominions entire, upon the conclusion of the war. Bocchus, tempted by this bait, comes to Jugurtha with a vast army. After they were joined, they fall upon Marius, as he was now marching into his winter-quarters, so far on the day, that there was scarce a tenth part of it left; supposing the night, which was near at hand, would protect them, if worsted; and if they prevailed, would be no impediment to the prosecution of the victory, by reason they were so well acquainted with the country; whereas the Romans, which way soever the matter went, would have but a bad chance for it in the dark. Wherefore the Consul no sooner had notice, as he had from several, of the enemy's approach, than they were upon him. And before the army could be put in order of battle, or draw their baggage together; in short, instrui,

instrui, aut sarcinas colligere, denique, antequam signum, aut imperium ullum accipere quivit, equites Mauri, atque Gætuli, non acie, neque ullo more præclii, sed cæteratim, uti quosque fors congregaverat, in nostros incurruunt. Qui omnes trepidi improposito metu ac tamen virtutis memores, aut arma capiebant, aut capientis alios ab hostibus defensabant; pars equos ascendere, obviam ire hostibus; pugna latrocinio magis, quam prælio similis fieri; sine signis, sine ordinibus, equites pedites permixti; cædere alios, alios obtruncare; multos, contra adversos acerrume pugnantes ab tergo circumvenire; neque virtus, neque arma satis tegere; quia hostes numero plures, & undique circumfusi erant. Denique Romani veteres, novique, & ob ea scientes belli, si quis locus, aut casus coniunxerat, orbes facere; atque ita ab omnibus partibus simul tecti, & instructi, hostium vim sustentabant.

CIII. Neque in eo tam aspero negotio Marius territus, aut magis, quam antea, demissio animo fuit; sed cum turma sua, quam ex fortissimis magis, quam familiarissimis

before they could receive any signal, or word of command, the Moorish and Getulian horse, not in due order, or any regular method of fighting, but in scattered companies, as chance had brought them together, come pell-mell upon the Romans, who were alarmed indeed with so unexpected an onset; yet mindful of their former bravery, they either took to their arms, or defended such as were doing so, from the enemy. Part of them mounting their horses, advanced against them. The fight was more like an engagement with a gang of Banditti, than soldiers. The Romans were without their standards, in confusion, horse and foot jumbled together; whilst the enemy's back'd and bewed among them, and attacked here and there such of them as were engaged in the rear, whom neither their courage, nor arms, could sufficiently secure; because the enemy were more numerous, and on all sides of them. Finally, the Romans, both old and new soldiers, as chance happened to join them, formed themselves into round bodies; and so being secured on all sides, and posted in proper order, they bravely withstood the enemy.

CIII. In this desperale case, Marius was not daunted, or a whit more dismayed, than at other times; but with his own troop, which he had formed not so much of friends, as the bravest fellows in the army, flew about every where; one while

para,

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paraverat, vagari passim ; ac modo laborantibus suis succurrere, modo hostis, ubi confertissimi obstiterant, invadere manu ; consulere militibus, quoniam imperare conturbatis omnibus non poterat. Jamque dies consumptus erat, cum tamen barbari nihil remittere ; atque, uti reges præceperant, noctem pro se rati, acrius instare. Tum Marius ex copia rerum consilium trahit ; atque, uti suis receptui locus effet, collis duos propinquos inter se occupat. Quorum in uno, castris parum ampio, fons aquæ magnus erat ; alter usui opportunus, quia magna parte editus, & præceps ; pauca munimento egebat. Cæterum apud aquam Sullam cum equitibus noctem agitare jubet. Ipse paulatim dispersos milites, neque minus hostibus conturbatis, in unum contrahit ; dein cunetos pleno gradu in collem subducit. Ita reges, loci difficultate coacti, prælio deterrentur ; neque tamen suos longius abire sinit, sed, utroque colle multitudine circumdato effusi confedere. Dein, crebris ignibus factis, plenumque noctis barbari more suo lætari, exsultare, strepere vocibus ;

relieving his own men in distress ; another while falling in amongst the thickest of the enemy ; and by fighting himself in person, endeavoured to serve his soldiers all he could ; since, in this universal confusion, it was impossible for him to act the proper part of a general. And tho' the day was now quite spent, yet did not the fury of the enemy abate at all ; but as the Kings had instructed them beforehand, supposing night would give them the advantage, they charged more desperately than before. Marius, upon this, takes the most proper measures his present circumstances would admit of ; and, to provide for the retreat of his troops, seizes upon two hills that were near together ; in one of which, not large enough to encamp on, there was a plentiful spring of water ; the other was convenient for the purpose, because the main of it was high and steep, and would require but little fortifying. However, he orders Sulla with his horse to spend the night by the water. He draws by degrees his scattered troops together, the enemy being now in as much confusion as they ; and then carries them all, upon a full march, up the hill. Thus the Kings were obliged, by the difficulty of attacking them in that situation, to give over the fight ; but yet suffer'd not their men to withdraw to any distance ; but enclosing both the hills within their two armies, lay scattered here and there. And then the barbarians, making many fires, spent the greatest part of the night in mirth and jollity, and yelling &

& ipsi duces feroce; quia non fugere, ut pro victoribus agere. Sed ea cuncta Romanis, ex tenebris, & editioribus locis facilia visu, magnoque hortamento erant.

CIV. Plurimum vero Marius imperitia hostium confirmatus, quam maximum silentium haberi jubet; ne signa quidem, uti per vigilias solebant, canere; deinde, ubi lux adventabat, defessis jam hostibus, ac paullo ante somno captis, de improviso vectigalis, item cohortium, turmarum, legionum tubicines simul omnis signa canere, milites clamorem tollere, atque portis erumpere. Mauri, atque Gætuli, ignoto & horribili sonitu repente exciti, neque fugere, neque arma capere, neque omnino facere, aut providere quidquam poterant; ita cunctos strepitu, clamore nullo subveniente, nostri instantibus tumultu, terrore, formidine, quasi vescordia, ceperat. Denique omnes fusi, fugatique; arma, & signa militaria pleraque capta; pluresque eo prælio, quam omnibus superioribus, interempti. Nam somno, & metu insolito impedita fuga.

CV. Dein Marius, uti cœperat, in hiberna proficiscitur, quæ propter commeatum in oppidis maritimis agere decrever-

after their fashion. And their leaders, proud to think they had not run away, behaved as conquerors. All these things were very visible to the Romans, who were in the dark upon the hills; and gave them no little encouragement.

CIV. Marius being much animated by the folly of the enemy, orders a profound silence to be kept, and that no trumpets should sound, as usual, at the end of every watch. Towards break of day, when the enemy were now weary and asleep, he orders the trumpeters throughout the army to sound at once, and the soldiers to make a sally upon the enemy with a great shout. The Moors and Getulians being suddenly awakened with so unexpected and dismal a noise, could neither fly, nor take arms; neither act, nor think of any thing for their own security; being all perfectly stupefied with the clamour and din about their ears; whilst our men poured in upon them in this helpless condition, with confusion, terror, and distraction attending them. In short, they were all routed and dispersed, most of their arms and military standards were taken, and more men killed in that battle, than all the former. For their flight was in a great measure prevented by sleep and surprize together.

CV. Now Marius pursued his former design of marching, in order to quarter his soldiers, for the winter, in the towns upon the sea-coast, because of the plenty of pro-

rat; neque tamen victoria secors, aut insolens factus; sed pariter, atque in conspectu hostium, quadrato agmine incedere. Sulla cum equitatu apud dextimos, in sinistra parte A. Manlius cum funditoribus, & sagittariis, præterea cohortes Ligurum curabat; primos, & extremos cum expeditis manipulis tribunos locaverat. Per fugæ, minime cari, & regionum scientissimi, hostium iter explorabant. Simul Consul, quasi nullo imposito, omnia providebat; apud omnis adesse, laudare, increpare merentis. Ipse armatus, intensusque item milites cogebat; neque fecus, atque iter facere, castra munire, excubitum in porta cohortis ex legionibus, pro castris equites auxiliarios mittere; præterea alios super vallum in munimentis locare, vigilias ipse circuire, non diffidentia futuri, quæ imperavit, quam uti militibus exæquatus cum imperatore labos volentibus esset. Et sane Marius illo & aliis temporibus Jugurthini belli, pudore magis, quam malo, exercitum coercebatur; quod multi per ambitionem fieri agebant; pars, quod a pueritia consuetam duritiam, & alia, quæ cæteri milierias

visions in those parts. However, he was not rendered either careless, or insolent, by his success; but marched with his army in a square figure, as if he had been in view of an enemy. Sulla was with the horse upon the right; A. Manlius with the slingers and archers, as also some battalions of the Ligurians, on the left. In the van and rear he had posted the Tribunes of the army, with several companies of foot, clear of baggage. Deserters, who were but little set by, and besides best acquainted with the country, were sent out to reconnoitre the enemy. At the same time, the Consul overlooked everything, as if no one had been entrusted in any share of the command with him. He was every where, commanding or reprimanding such as deserved it. He was armed, and upon his guard himself; and obliged the soldiers to be so too. Nor did he use this great caution only in his march, but in encamping, posting the usual guard of legionary soldiers at the gates within the camp, and auxiliary horse without, as also upon the ramparts; and going the rounds to visit the watch himself, not so much from a distrust of those employed to execute his orders, as to make the soldiers more easy under their fatigue, by taking an equal share with them in it. And indeed Marius both then, and all the time he was employed in the war against Jugurtha, kept up good order in the army, more by the dint of shame, than punishment; which, many said, was done purely to court the soldiery; but others were of opinion,

vocant, voluptati habuisset. Nisi tamen Respub. pariter, ac sævissimo imperio, bene, atque decore gesta.

on, he took a real pleasure in that way of behaviour, as having from his youth been inured to hardship, and such things as others count very dismal. However, affairs were as well, and as gloriously managed, as they could have been under the most severe command.

CVI. Igitur quarto denique die, haud longe ab oppido Cirta undique simul speculatores citi sese ostendunt; qua re hostis adesse intelligitur. Sed quia diversi redeuntes, alius ab alia parte, atque omnes idem significabant; Consul incertus, quonam modo aciem instrueret, nullo ordine commutato, advorsum omnia paratus, ibidem opperitur. Ita Jugurtham spes frustrata, qui copias in quatuor partis distribuerat, ratus ex omnibus æque aliquos ab tergo hostibus venturos. Interim Sulla, quem prium hostes attigerant, cohortatus suos, turmatim, & quam maxime confertis equis, ipse aliquique Mauros invadunt; cæteri in loco manentes, ab jaculis eminus emissis corpora tegere, & si qui in manus venerant, obtruncare.

CVII. Dum eo modo equites prælianturn, Bocchus cum peditibus, quos Volux filius ejus adduxerat, neque in priore pug-

CVI. At last, four days after the battle, several scouts suddenly appear'd on all sides, not far from the town of Cirta; a certain sign that the enemy was not far off. But because the parties that brought intelligence from all quarters round, were in the same story, the Consul not knowing how to draw up his army, without altering the disposition of his troops at all, waits, in the place where he then was, the coming of the enemy; prepared to receive them, let them attack him in what quarter they would; which was a baulk upon Jugurtha. For he had divided his troops into four parts, supposing some of them would certainly surprize the enemy in their rear. In the mean time Sulla, whom the enemy came first up with, encouraging his men, with several troops of horse, in close order, fall upon the Moors. The rest keeping their ground, only endeavoured to guard against the weapons, which the enemy pour'd in upon them at a distance; and if any of them came up to them, cut them down.

CVII. During this engagement of the horse, Bocchus with the foot, which his son Volux had brought him, but who loitering upon their march, had not been at

pa,

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na; in itinere morati, adfuerant, postremam Romanorum aciem invadunt. Tum Marius apud primos erat, quod ibi Jugurtha cum plurimis instabat. Dein Numida, cognito Bocchi adventu, clam cum paucis ad pedites convertit; ibi Latine, nam apud Numantiam loqui didicerat, exclamat *nostros frustra pugnare; paullo ante Marium sua manu interfectum;* simul gladium sanguine oblitum ostendere, quem in pugna, satis impigre occiso pedite nostro, cruentaverat. Quod ubi milites accepere, magis atrocitate rei, quam fide nuncii, terrentur; simulque barbari animos tollere, & in perculso Romanos acrius incedere. Jamque paulum a fuga aberant, cum Sulla, profligatis iis, quos adorsum ierat, rediens ab latere Mauris incurrit. Bocchus statim avertitur. At Jugurtha, dum sustentare suos, & prope jam adeptam victoriam retinere cupit, circumventus ab equitibus dextra, finistra, omnibus occisis, solus inter tela hostium vitabundus erumpit. Atque interim Marius, fugatis equitibus, accurrit auxilio suis, quos pelli jam acceperat. Denique hostes jam undiq; fusi.

the former battle; falls upon the hinder part of the Roman army. Marius was then in the van, because Jugurtha was there with a numerous body of troops; who receiving intelligence of Bocchus's coming, wheels off privately with a few attendants to the Roman foot, and there cries out in Latin, which he had learnt to speak at Numantia, that our men fought to no purpose, since he had slain Marius but a little before with his own hand; and at the same time shewed them his sword all bloody, which he had made so by killing a foot-man belonging to our army. Which when the soldiers heard, they were shock'd with the horridness of the thing, more than any credit they gave to it; and at the same time the barbarians took fresh courage, and made a very smart attack upon the disheartened Romans, who were now ready to fly; when Sulla having routed those he was engaged with, in his return from the pursuit of them, falls upon the Moors in their flank; whereupon Bocchus immediately flies. But Jugurtha, desirous to support his friends, and make sure of the victory, which he had now almost got, was hemmed in upon the right and left by our horse; and all his attendants being slain, made good his retreat, as he was by himself, by cautiously keeping upon his defence against the weapons poured in upon him. And in the mean time, Marius routing the horse, comes to the relief of his men, who, he was advertised, gave ground before the enemy. Finally, they were now routed in all quarters.

CVIII. Tum spectaculum horribile in campis patentibus; sequi, fugere; occidi, capi; equi atque viri adflicti; ac multi, vulneribus acceptis, neque fugere posse, neque quietem pati; niti modo, ac statim concidere; postremo omnia, qua visus erat, constrata telis, armis, cadaveribus; & inter ea humus infecta sanguine. Postea loci Consul, haud dubie jam victor, pervenit in oppidum Circumtam, quo initio profectus intenderat. Eo post diem quintum, quam iterum barbari male pugnaverant, legati a Boccho veniunt; qui regis verbis ab Mario petivere, duos quam fidissimos ad eum mittere; velle de suo, & de populi Romani commodo cum iis differere. Ille statim L. Sullam, & A. Manlium ire jubet. Qui quamquam acciti ibant; tamen placuit verba apud regem facere; uti ingenium aut aversum flecterent; aut cupidum pacis vehementius accenderent. Itaque Sulla, cuius facundiæ, non ætati, a Manlio concessum, pauca verba hujuscemodi locutus.

CIX. Rex Bocche,
magna nobis lætitia est,
cum te talem virum dii
monuere, uti aliquando

CVIII. And now was there a dreadful fight to be seen all over the fields, to a vast extent; some pursuing, others flying; some were killed, some taken; horses and men tumbled together upon the ground; and many that were wounded, could neither fly, nor be quiet; but endeavouring to rise, immediately fell down again. Finally, all parts, as far as fight could reach, were covered with arms of all sorts, and dead bodies; and the ground stained with blood. The Consul having now got an unquestionable victory, continued his march to Cirta, the place he before design'd for. Thither, five days after the barbarians had been beaten, came deputies from Bocchus; who, in the King's name, requested of Marius to send to him two persons to be confided in, that he might treat with them concerning the joint interest of himself, and the Roman people. He immediately dispatches away L. Sulla, and A. Manlius; who, notwithstanding they went upon the King's request, yet they resolved to speak first, in order to work upon him, if he was still obstinate; or if he was desirous of peace, to encourage that disposition in him. Wherefore Sulla, to whom Manlius gave place, in consideration of his eloquence, and not his age, spoke briefly to the following effect.

CIX. King Bocchus, it is no small joy to us, to find the Gods have put it into the heart of so fine a prince as you are, to chuse at last pacem;

*pacem, quam bellum, mal-
les ; neu te optimum cum
peffumo omnium Jugur-
tha miscendo commacula-
res ; simul nobis demeres
acerbam necessitudinem,
pariter te errantem, &
illum sceleratissimum per-
sequi. Ad hoc, populo Ro-
mano, jam a principio
inopi, melius visum, ami-
cos, quam servos, quære-
re ; tutiusque rati, vo-
lentibus, quam coactis,
imperitare. Tibi vero
nulla opportunitas amicitia
nostra ; primum quod
procul absumus ; in quo
offensæ minimum, gratia
par, ac si prope adesse-
mus ; dein, quod parentes
abunde habemus ; amico-
rum, neque nobis, neque
cuiquam omnium satis fu-
it. Atque hoc utinam a
principio tibi placuisse !
profecto ex P. R. ad hoc
tempus multo plura bona
acepisses, quam mala
percessus es. Sed quo-
niam humanarum rerum
fortuna pleraque regit ;
cuislicet placuisse & vim,
& gratiam nostram expe-
riri ; nunc, quando per il-
lam licet, festina ; atque,
uti cœpisti, perge. Mul-
ta, atque opportuna ha-
bes, quo facilius errata
officiis superes. Postremo
hoc in pectus tuum dimit-
te, numquam P. R. be-
neficiis vietum esse. Nam,
bello quid valeat, tute
sis.*

rather to be at peace, than war with us ; and no longer disparage yourself, a most excellent person, by uniting with the worst man alive, Jugurtha ; and at the same time deliver us from the odious necessity of pursuing you, guilty only of a mistake, and that most vile wretch, with the like vengeance. It has ever been a maxim with the Roman people, since their first rise in the world, which was but low, to procure themselves friends, rather than slaves ; and they have always thought it safer to rule over willing subjects, than by compulsion. No alliance can be more commodious for you, than ours. In the first place, because we are a great way off ; in which case, there can be very small occasion of difference, and yet there may be the same good understanding, as if we were near neighbours ; and in the next place, because we have subjects enough ; but neither we, nor any one else, had ever friends enough. And I could have wished, you had taken this course at first ! You would certainly, by this time, have received more good at the hands of the Roman people, than you have now suffered evil. But as the concerns of mankind are, in the main, subjected to the power of fortune, who had a mind, it seems, that you should as well feel the effects of our force, as of our favour ; now that she puts the latter in your power, be quick, and go on, as you have begun. Now you have great advantages for correcting your former mistakes, by future services. Finally, let this thought sink deep into

into your mind, that the Roman people were never yet outdone in acts of kindness by any one. For as to their ability in war, you know that well enough yourself.

CX. Ad ea Bocchus placide, & benigne; simul pauca pro delicto suo verba facit; *se non hostili animo, sed ob regnum tutandum arma cepisse*; nam Numidiæ partem, unde vi Jugurtham expulerit, jure belli suam factam, eam vastari a Mario, pati nequivisse; præterea, missis antea Romam legatis, repulsum ab amicitia; cæterum vetera omittere, ac tum, si per Marium liceret, legatos ad Senatum missurum. Dein, copia facta, animus barbari ab amicis flexus, quos Jugurtha, cognita legatione Sullæ, & Manlii, metuens id quod parabatur, donis corruerat. Marius interea, exercitu in hibernaculis compofito, cum expeditis cohortibus, & parte equitatus proficiscitur in loca sola, obferrum turrim regiam, quo Jugurtha perfugas omnis præsidium imposuerat. Tum rursus Bocchus feliciter, seu reputando, quæ fibi duobus præliis venerant, seu admonitus ab aliis amicis, quos incorruptos Jugurtha reliquerat, ex omni copia necessariorum quinque de legit, quorum & fides cognita, & inge-

CX. To all this Bocchus made a very soft and civil reply; at the same time making a brief apology for his misconduct; alledging, that he had not taken up arms out of any hostile intention against the Romans, but for the defence of his kingdom; for that part of Numidia, out of which he had driven Jugurtha, was, by the right of war, become his own; which he could not suffer to be laid waste by Marius. Besides, upon his applying formerly, by his ambassadors at Rome, for an alliance with us, he had been rejected; but however, he should decline all further mention of what was past; and now, if Marius pleased to give him leave, he should send ambassadors again to the Senate. Yet tho' this liberty was afterwards granted him, the mind of the barbarian received a different turn, from the influence of such friends, as Jugurtha, upon hearing of the dispatch of Sulla and Manlius to him, had bribed. In the mean time, Marius having put his army into winter-quarters, marches into the desert, with a detachment of foot and horse, to besiege a tower of the King's, wherein Jugurtha had put a garrison of Roman deserters. Then again Bocchus, either from a consideration of what he had suffered in the two battles, or upon the advice of other friends, whom Jugurtha had left uncorrupted, chose out of the number of his friends five, the most emi-

nia validissima erant. Eos ad Marium, ac dein, si placeat, Romam legatos ire jubet; agendarum rerum, & quocumque modo belli componendi licentiam ipsis permittit.

CXI. Illi mature ad hiberna Romanorum proficuntur; deinde a Gaetulis latronibus in itinere circumventi, spoliati, pavidi, sine decore ad Sullam pergunt; quem Consul, in expeditiōnē proficiens, pro prætore reliquerat. Eos ille non pro vanis hostibus, uti meriti erant, sed accurate & liberaliter habuit. Qua re barbari & famam Romanorum avaritiae falsam, & Sullam ob munificentiam in se ē amicum rati. Nam etiam tum largitio multis ignota erat; munificus nemo putabatur, nisi pariter volens; dona omnia in benignitate habebantur. Igitur Quæstori mandata Bocchi patefaciunt; simul ab eo petunt, uti fautor, consultorque sibi adsit; copias, fidem, magnitudinem regis sui & alia, quæ aut utilia, aut benevolentia esse credebant, oratione extollunt; dein, Sulla omnia pollicito, docti quo modo apud Marium, item apud Senatum verba facerent, circiter dies XL. ibidem opperiuntur.

nent for their good affection and parts. These be orders to go to Marius, and, if he gave consent, to Rome; and furnishes them with full powers for the concluding of a peace at discretion.

CXI. They quickly depart for the winter-quarters of the Romans; but being trepanned in the way, and stript of all they had, by some Getulian robbers, in great fright, and a sorry equipage, they pursue their way to Sulla; whom the Consul, when he went upon his expedition, had left Proprætor. He did not treat them like fickle enemies, as they had deserved; but with great kindness and generosity. Whereupon the barbarians believed the report of the Roman avarice to be false; and concluded Sulla, from his generous reception of them, to be their friend. For the practice of giving, in order to corruption, was even at that time unknown to many; and no body was thought generous, but out of good will; and all presents were reckoned arguments of kindness. Wherefore they acquaint the Quæstor with the instructions they had received from Bocchus; and at the same time request of him to favour and assist them in their business; magnifying extremely the forces, honesty, and greatness of their prince, with other things they thought might be subservient to their design, or a means to procure favour. Sulla promised all they desired; and being by him instructed how they should address Marius, and likewise the Senate, they waited there about forty days.

CXII.

CXII. Marius postquam infecto negotio, quo intenderat, Cirtam redit; de adventu legatorum certior factus, illosque, & Sullam venire jubet, itemque L. Bellienum prætorem, Utica, præterea omnis undique Senatorii ordinis; qui buscum mandata Bocchi cognoscit; in quibus, legatis potestas eundi Romam fit; & ab Consule interea induciæ postulabantur. Ea Sullæ & plerisque placuere; pauci ferocius decernunt, scilicet ignari humanarum rerum, quæ fluxæ, & mobiles semper in aduersa mutantur. Cæterum Mauri impetratis omnibus, tres Romam profecti cum C. Octavio Rufo, qui Quæstor stipendum adportaverat; duo ad regem redeunt. Ex his Bocchus cum cætera, tum maxime benignitatem, & studium Sullæ lubens accepit. Romæque legatis ejus postquam, errasse regem, & Jugurthæ scelere lapsum, deprecati sunt, amicitiam & fœdus petentibus hoc modo respondeunt.

S. & P. R. beneficij, & injuriæ memor esse solet. Cæterum Boccho, quoniam pœnitet, delicti gratiam facit; fœdus & amicitia dabuntur, cum meruerit.

CXII. *Marius not succeeding in his attempt upon the tower, returns to Cirta; where being informed of the arrival of the ambassadors, he orders them and Sulla to come to him; and likewise summons L. Bellienus the Prætor from Utica; and besides him, all others of Senatorian rank, in order to advise with them about the proposals of Bocchus; the sum whereof was, liberty for his ambassadors to proceed to Rome, and a cessation of arms in the mean time. Which Sulla, with a majority of the council, approved of; but others stiffly opposed, being not sufficiently sensible of the uncertainty and inconstancy of human affairs, subject to very unlucky revolutions. The Moors, having obtained all they desired, three of them went for Rome, with C. Octavius Rufo, who had come as Quæstor into Africa, with pay for the army; two return to the King, and, besides other things, acquaint him more particularly with Sulla's kindness and concern for him; which was very agreeable. At Rome, the ambassadors confessing their King had been in an error, which he was led into by the wickedness of Jugurtha; and desiring the favour to be admitted into the Roman alliance, they received an answer in the following words.*

The Senate and people of Rome are ever mindful of any kindness or injury done them; however, they pardoned Bocchus's offence, in consideration of his repentance; and should admit him into their alliance, when he deserved it.

BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 217

CXIII. Quibus rebus cognitis, Bocchus per literas a Mario petivit, ut Sullam ad se mitteret; cuius arbitratu de communibus negotiis consuleatur. Is missus cum praesidio equitum, atque peditum, funditorum Baleariorum; praeterea iere sagittarii, & cohors Peligna cum velitaribus armis, itineris properandi cauffa; neque his secus, atque aliis armis, aduersum tela hostium, quod ea levia sunt, muniti. Sed in itinere, quinto denique die, Volux, filius Bocchi, repente in campis patentibus cum mille non amplius equitibus sese ostendit; qui temere & effuse eunt, Sulla, aliisque omnibus & numerum ampliorem vero, & hostilem metum efficiebant. Igitur se quisque expedire; arma atque tela tentare, intendere; timor aliquantus, sed spes amplior, quippe victoribus, & aduersum eos, quos saepe vicerant. Interim equites, exploratum praemissi, rem, uti erat, quietam nunciant.

CXIV. Volux adveniens Quæstorem appellat; se a patre Bocco obviandum illis simul, & praefidig missum. Deinde eum, & proximum diem sine metu conjuncti eunt. Post, ubi castra locata, & diei vesper erat; repen-

CXIII. Bocchus, upon advice of this, requested of Marius, by a Letter, to send Sulla to him, that he might advise with him about their common concerns; who was sent accordingly, with a guard of horse and foot, Balearian slingers, bowmen, and a battalion of Pelignians, with arms used by the Velites, for the better expedition in their march, and because they would be as well secured by that sort of arms, as any other, against the enemies, who used the like themselves. Upon the fifth day of their march, Volux, the son of Bocchus, all on a sudden appeared upon a wide plain, with no more than a thousand horse; but who, by the loose order of their march, gave occasion to Sulla, and all that were with him, to imagine them to be more numerous, and enemies too. Whereupon, every man now stands to his arms, ready to receive them. Their hopes, however, were above their fears, as being to engage with an enemy, which they had often conquered. In the mean time, some horse being sent to reconnoitre them, bring word again, how the matter was; and that there was no danger.

CXIV. Volux coming up, addresses himself to the Quæstor, and tells him, that he had been sent by his father to meet him, and to wait upon him with that guard to his court. Accordingly they continue their march together, for that and the next day, very quietly. But in the evening, when they had now
Ee
te

te Maurus, incerto vultu pavens, ad Sullam adcurrit; dicitque, sibi ex speculatoribus cognitum, Jugurtham haud procul abesse; simul, uti noctu clam secum profugeret, rogat, atque hortatur. Ille animo feroci, negat se toties fusum Numidam pertimescere; virtuti suorum satis credere; etiam si certa pestis aedesset, mansurum potius, quam proditis quos ducebat, turpi fuga incertæ, ac forsitan paullo post morbo interrituræ vitæ parceret. Cæterum ab eodem monitus, uti noctu proficiscerentur, consilium approbat; ac statim milites coenatos esse in castris; ignesque creberrimos fieri, dein prima vigilia silentio egredi jubet. Jamque nocturno itinere fessis omnibus, Sulla pariter cum ortu solis castra metabatur; cum equites Mauri nunciant, Jugurtham, circiter duum milium intervallo, ante consedisse. Quod postquam auditum est, tum vero ingens metus nostros invadit; credere se proditos a Voluce, & infidiis circumventos. Ac fuere qui dicerent, manu vindicandum, neque apud illum tantum scelus inultum relinquendum.

pitched their camp, all on a sudden the Moor comes in a great fright to Sulla, and tells him, that he was informed by his scouts, that Jugurtha was not far off; and at the same time begs and entreats him to fly away privately with him in the Night. To which he very boldly replied, that he feared not the Numidian, who had been so often beat by him; nor did he distrust the courage of his men: But however, tho' he was sure to perish, yet would he stand his ground, rather than save his life, which might otherwise, perhaps in a short time, have an end put to it by a distemper, by a scandalous flight, and betraying those he conducted. But however, being advised by the same Volux to continue his march in the night, he approved of that advice, and immediately gives order for the soldiers to go to supper in the camp; and when they had done, to make a good many fires up and down the same, and march silently off in the first watch. All being heartily tired with that night's march, Sulla pitched his camp again about sun-rise, when the Moorish horse bring word, that Jugurtha had sat down about two miles on the road before them. Upon hearing of which, our men were in a mighty consternation, as believing themselves betrayed, and led into a snare by Volux. And some cried out for vengeance upon him, and that such a piece of villainy might not go unpunished.

CXV. At Sulla, quamquam eadem existumabat, tamen ab injuria Maurorum prohibet; suos horretatur, *uti fortē animū gererent;* *sæpe ante paucis strenuis ad vorus multitudinem bene pugnatū;* quanto sibi in prælio minus pepercissent, tanto tutiores fore; nec quemquam decere, qui manus armaverit, ab inermis pedibus auxilium petere in maximo metu, nudum & cæcum corpus ad hostis vertere. Deinde Volucem, quoniam hostilia faceret, *Jovem maxum obtestatus, ut sceleris, atque perfidiæ Bocchit testis adesset,* castris abire jubet. Ille lacrumanter orare, ne ea crederet; nihil dolofactum, ac magis calliditate Jugurtha; cui videlicet speculanti iter suum cognitum esset. Cæterum, quoniam neque ingentem multitudinem haberet; & spes, opesque ejus ex patre suo pendebant; credere illum nihil ausurum palam, cum ipse filius testis adesset; quare optimum factum videri, per media ejus castra palam transire; sese, vel præmissis, vel ibidem relictis Mauris, solum cum Sulla iturum. Ea res, uti in tali negotio, probata; ac statim profecti, quia de improviso accelerint, du-

CXV. But Sulla, tho' he was of the same opinion, yet would not suffer the Moor to be hurt; but encourages his men to have a good heart; that a few brave fellows had oftentimes prevailed against multitudes; the less they spared themselves in battle, the more secure they would be; nor ought any one, that had armed his hands, to seek assistance from his unarmed feet; or in the midst of danger turn his naked back, that had no eyes in it, upon his enemy. Then invoking Jupiter as a witness of the villainy and treachery of Bocchus, he orders Volux, as acting like a base enemy, to be gone out of the camp. He, with tears in his eyes, begs of him, not to harbour any such suspicion of him; that nothing of all this was owing to any baseness of his, but to the subtlety of Jugurtha only, who had by his spies discovered their march. However, since he had no great numbers with him, and all his hopes and strength depended upon his father, he did not believe, he would dare to make any open attempt upon them, whilst the son was by, to be a witness of his behaviour. For which reason, he thought their best way would be to take their rout fairly through the middle of his camp; that he would either send his Moors before, or leave them there, and go single along with Sulla. This proposal was, as the case stood, approved of; and immediately they went; and Jugurtha being surprized with their coming, and unresolved what to do, they passed safe, and arrived, E e 2 bio,

bio, atque hæsitante Ju-
gurtha, incolumes tran-
seunt. Deinde paucis die-
bus, quo ire intenderant,
perventum est.

CXVI. Ibi cum Boe-
cho Numida quidam Af-
par nomine, multum ;
& familiariter agebat,
præmislus ab Jugurtha,
postquam Sullam acci-
tum audierat, orator, &
subdole speculatum Boc-
chi consilia ; prætere Da-
bar, Massugradæ filius,
ex gente Massinissæ, cæ-
terum materno genere
impar ; nam pater ejus
ex concubina ortus erat ;
Mauro ob ingenii multa
bona carus, acceptusque,
quem Bocchus fidum esse
Romanis, multis ante
tempestatibus expertus,
illoco ad Sullam nuncia-
tum mittit, paratum sese
facere, quæ populus Rom.
vellet ; colloquio diem, lo-
cum, tempus ipse delige-
ret ; consulta sese omnia
cum illo integræ habere ;
neu Jugurthæ legatum
pertimesceret ; accitum
esse, quo res communis
licentius gereretur ; nam
ab infidiis ejus aliter cave-
ri nequiville. Sed ego
comperior, Bocchum
magis Punica fide, quam
ob ea, quæ prædicabat,
simul Romanos, & Nu-
midam spe pacis attinuisse ;
multumque cum ani-
mo suo volvere solitus,

*in a few dæys, at the place they de-
sign'd for.*

CXVI. There was at that time in
Bocchus's court, a Numidian named
Aspar, who pretended to great
freedom and familiarity with him ;
having been dispatched thither by
Jugurtha, as soon as he heard that
Sulla had been sent for, as his en-
voy, and slyly to discover Bocchus's
intentions ; and besides him, one
Dabar, the son of Massagrada,
of the family of Massinissa ; but of
mean descent by the mother, for her
father was the son of a concubine ;
but in great favour with the Moor
for his excellent parts, whom Boc-
chus having found, upon several
occasions before, to be entirely in
the Roman interest, he immediate-
ly dispatches him to Sulla, to tell
him, that he was ready to com-
ply with the pleasure of the Roman
people in every thing ; that he
might fix time and place for the
interview betwixt them ; that he
was at full liberty to conclude mat-
ters, as they two, upon considera-
tion, should find reasonable, with-
out being under any obligations to
the contrary from Jugurtha, whose
agent he need not fear. He had
been sent for, only that their com-
mon affair might be transacted
with more freedom ; for otherwise
it would have been impossible to
have guarded effectually against
the sly arts of Jugurtha. But I
find, that Bocchus herein acted
double, rather than with the design
he pretended ; in order to keep both

Jua

BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 221

Jugurtham Romanis, an illi Sullam traderet; libidinem aduersum nos, metum pro nobis suasisse.

the Romans and Jugurtha at a bay with the hopes of peace; and that he was a long time in debate with himself, whether he should deliver up Jugurtha to the Romans, or Sulla to him; his inclination pleading against, and his fear for, us.

CXVII. Igitur Sulla respondit, *pauca se coram Aspare locuturum, cætera occulte aut nullo, aut quam paucissimis præsentibus; simul edocet, quæ responderentur.* Postquam, sicuti voluerant, congressi; dicit *se missum a consule venisse, quæsum ab eo, pacem, an bellum agitaturus fore.* Tunc rex, uti præcep-
tum fuerat, post diem decimum redire jubet; ac nihil etiam nunc decre-
visse, sed illo die respon-
surum. Deinde ambo in
sua castra digressi. Sed
ubi plerumque noctis pro-
cessit; Sulla a Boccho
occulte accersitur; ab
utroque tantummodo fidi
interpretes adhibentur.
Præterea Dabar inter-
nuncius, sanctus vir, ex
sententia jurat ambobus;
ac statim sic rex incipit.

CXVII. Sulla therefore replied, that he should say but little in the presence of Aspar; the rest in private, with no one, or but very few by. At the same time, he instructs him, what answer he should return him. After they met according to appointment, Sulla tells him, that he had been sent by the Consul to know of him, whether he was for peace or war. Then the King, according to his instructions, bids him come to him again, after ten days time; seeing he was as yet undetermined in that matter; but would then give him an answer. Whereupon they both departed into their several camps. But when the night was now far spent, Sulla is privately sent for by Bocchus, and trusty interpreters alone allowed to be present, except the messenger Dabar, a man of honour, who was sworn to secrecy. Whereupon the King opened the conference as follows.

CXVIII. *Numquam ego ratus sum fore, uti rex maximus in hac ter-
ra, & omnium, quos no-
vi, opulentissimus, priva-
to homini gratiam debe-
rem. Et hercule Sulla,
ante te cognitum, multis
grantibus aliis ultra ego-*

CXVIII. I never imagined, that I, the greatest Prince in this part of the world, and the most opulent that I know, should ever be indebted for a favour to a private person, or any one under the rank of a King. And indeed, Sulla, before I was acquainted with you, I have granted favours to
met

met opem tuli, nullius indigui. Id imminutum, quod cæteri dolere solent, ego lœtor. Fuerit mihi pretium, egiisse aliquando tuæ amicitiæ; qua apud animum meum nihil carius babeo. Id adeo experiri licet; arma, viros, pecuniam, postremo quidquid animo libet, sume, utere; & quoat vires, numquam tibi redditam gratiam putaveris; semper apud me integra erit; denique nihil me sciente frustra voles. Nam, ut ego existumo, regem armis, quam munificentia, vinci, flagitosum minus. Cæterum de Re-publ. vestra, cuius curator hic missus es, paucis accipe. Bellum ego populo Rom. neque feci, neque factum umquam volui; finis meos ad vossum armatos armis tutus sum. Id omitto; quando vobis ita placet; gerite, uti vultis, cum Jugurtha bellum. Ego flumen Muluham, quod inter me & Micipsam fuit, non egrediar, neque Jugurtham id intrare sinam. Præterea, si quid meque vobisque dignum petiveris, haud repulsus abibis.

CXIX. Ad id Sulla pro se breviter, & modice; de pace, & de com-

many, upon their application for them, and to others without; but never stood in need of any myself. I am glad, the case is altered with me in that respect; a thing which others are apt to be sorry for. It was worth my while to stand in need of your friendship, to which I prefer nothing in the world besides; which you may try. Take, use my arms, men, money, in short, whatsoever you have a mind to; and after all, whilst you live, never think I have made you a sufficient requital for your favours. My obligation to you will ever be the same. Finally, you shall never desire any thing in my power to do for you, if I am but sensible of it, but you shall have it. For I think it less dishonourable for a Prince to be outdone in arms, than generosity. But as to your republick, whose affairs you have been sent hither to take care of, I shall let you know my mind in a few words. I never made war upon the Roman people, or ever so much as desired it. I only defended my dominions with arms against an armed force. But I say no more of that. Since you are so minded, carry on a war with Jugurtha, as you please. I shall never stir beyond the river Mulucha, which was the boundary betwixt me and Micipsa; nor will I ever suffer Jugurtha to come within it. And if you have any thing further to demand, worthy of me and yourselves, you shall not be denied.

CXIX. To this Sulla replied briefly and modestly, so far as it related to himself; but spake large-

muni-

munibus rebus multis disseruit. Denique regi patescit; quod polliceatur, Senatum & populum Romanum, quoniam amplius armis valuerint, non in gratia habituros; facundum aliquid, quod illorum magis, quam sua, retulisse videretur; id adeo in promptu esse; quoniam Jugurtha copiam haberet; quem si Romanis tradidisset, fore, ut illi plurimum deberetur; amicitiam, fædus, Numidia partem, quam nunc peteret, tunc ultro adventuram. Rex prima negat; affinitatem, cognationem, præterea fædus intervenisse; ad hoc mentiuere, ne fluxa fide usus popularium animos averteret; queis & Jugurtha carus, & Romani invisi essent. Denique saepius fatigatus, lenitur; & ex voluntate Sullæ omnia se facturum promittit. Cæterum ad simulandam pacem, cuius Numida, defessus bello, avidissimus, quæ utilia visa, constituant. Ita, composto dolo, digrediuntur.

ly as to the publick concerns. Finally, he gave the King to understand, That as the Senate and people of Rome had been successful in the war, they would never thank him for what he promised. He must do something, that might appear to be more for their interest, than his own; which was an easy matter for him to do, since he had Jugurtha in his power, whom, if he would deliver up to the Romans, they would then be under a very great obligation to him; that then the Roman friendship and alliance, with the third part of Numidia, which he demanded, would come into him, without more ado. The King, at first, refused over and over to comply with this proposal; alledging their relation both by blood and marriage, with the treaty of alliance that had been betwixt them. He was moreover afraid, he said, lest by acting so treacherous a part, he should lose the affections of his subjects, who all loved Jugurtha, and hated the Romans. But repeated instances to the same purpose softened him at last; and he accordingly promised to do all that Sulla desired of him. But to carry on the pretence of concluding a peace that should include Jugurtha, which he, being weary of the war, was very desirous of, they settle matters, as they judged proper for that purpose. And having thus laid their plot, they part.

CXX. At rex postero die Asparem, Jugurthæ legatum, appellat; dicitque sibi per Dabarem ex Sulla cognitum, posse con-

ditiogni-

ditionibus bellum componi; quamobrem regis sui sententiam exquireret. Ille laetus in castra Jugurthæ venit. Deinde ab illo cuncta edoctus, properato itinere, post diem octavum redit ad Bocchum; & ei nunciat, Jugurtham cupere omnia, quæ imperarentur, facere; sed Mario parum fidere; saepe antea cum imperatoribus Romanis pacem conventam, frustra fuisse. Cæterum Bocchus, si ambobus consultam, & ratam pacem vellet, daret operam, ut una ab omnibus, quasi de pace, in colloquium veniretur; ibique sibi Sullam traderet; cum talem virum in potestate haberet, tum fore, uti jussu S. P. Q. R. fædus fieret; neque hominem nobilem non sua ignavia, sed ob rem publ. in hostium potestate relictumiri.

CXXI. Hæc Maurus secum ipse diu volvens, tandem promisit. Cæterum dolo, an vere cunctatus, parum comperimus. Sed plerumque regiae voluntates, ut vehementes, sic mobiles, saepe ipsæ sibi advorsæ. Postea tempore & loco constituto, in colloquium uti de pace veniretur, Bocchus Sullam modo, modo Jugurthæ legatum appellare; benigne habere; idem ambobus polliceri. Illi pariter læti, ac spei bonæ pleni esse. Sed

might learn his master's sentiments about it. He went, full of joy, to Jugurtha's camp, and taking his instructions, returns with all expedition eight days after to Bocchus, and tells him, that Jugurtha was ready to comply with any thing; but durst not trust Marius; that the peace he had concluded with several Roman commanders before him, they had never stood to. Bocchus, if he would provide effectually for them both, and make a peace to last, should procure a joint conference under that pretence, and deliver up Sulla to him. If he had but such a man as him in his hands, a treaty of peace would then be concluded by order of the Senate and people of Rome. For a man of his quality would never be left in the enemy's hands, into which he came, not by his own want of courage, but in serving his country, non sua ignavia, sed ob rem publ. in hostium potestate relictumiri.

CXXI. The Moor musing upon this proposal a good while, at last promised he would; but whether with a fraudulent design, or sincerely, I do not find. But princes humours, as they are mostly very violent, so are they fickle, and often inconsistent. After this, time and place being appointed for the conference, Bocchus one while talk'd with Sulla, another while with Jugurtha's agent; treated them kindly, and promised both the same thing. They were both alike well-pleased, and full of hopes. But in the night before the day appointed for the conference, the Moor gathering his friends about him, nocte

nocte ea, quæ proxima
fuit ante diem colloquio
decretum, Maurus adhi-
bitis amicis, ac statim im-
mutata voluntate, remo-
tis cæteris dicitur secum
ipse multa agitavisse, vul-
tu corporis pariter atque
animo varius; quæ scili-
cat, tacente ipso, occulta
oris patefecisse. Tamen
postremo Sullam arcessi
jubet; & ex ejus sententia
Numidæ infidias tendit.
Deinde, ubi dies advenit;
& ei nunciatum est, Ju-
gurtham haud procul ab-
esse; cum paucis amicis,
& Quæstorè nostro, quasi
obvius honoris caussa,
procedit in tumulum fa-
cillum visu insidiabitibus.
Eodem Numida cum
plerisque necessariis suis
inermis, ut dictum erat,
accedit; ac statim signo
dato, undique simul ex
infidiis invaditur. Cæteri
obtruncati; Jugurtha
Sullæ vincitus traditur, &
ab eo ad Marium deduc-
tus est.

CXXII. Per idem
tempus aduersum Gallos
ab ducibus nostris Q. Cæ-
pione, & M. Manlio
male pugnatum. Quo
metu Italia omnis contre-
muerat. Illique, & inde
usque ad nostram memo-
riam Romani sic habuere;
alia omnia virtuti suæ
prona esse; cum Gallis
pro salute, non pro glo-

*and immediately changing his mind,
after he had ordered all but his
friends to withdraw, he did, they
tell you, ruminate upon the matter
a long time, with strange altera-
tions in his countenance, and a
variety of sentiments; which, tho'
he was silent, was discoverable in
his looks. However, at last he
orders Sulla to be sent for, and, by
his advice, lays a plot for the Nu-
midian. Then, as soon as it was
day, and he was informed that
Jugurtha was not far off, he,
with a few friends, and our Quæ-
stor, goes, under pretence of doing
him honour, to meet him, as far
as a hill that was in view of those
who were ordered to trepan him.
Thither, as had been appointed,
the Numidian came unarmed
with a few friends. And imme-
diately, upon a signal given, he
was surrounded on all hands, and
seized. The rest were killed;
but Jugurtha was delivered in
chains to Sulla, and by him con-
ducted to Marius.*

CXXII. About the same time,
our generals, Q. Cæpion and M.
Manlius, were very unfortunate
against the Gauls; which occasioned
a general consternation throughout
Italy. And the Romans then
were, and from that time to this
have been always, of opinion,
that other wars had no difficulty
in them; but that they fought
with the Gauls for their very be-
ing, not glory. But after the
F f ria

ria certari. Sed post-
quam bellum in Numidia
confectum; & Jugur-
tham vincētum adduci
Romam nūciatum est;
Marius Consul absens
factus est; & ei decreta
provincia Gallia; isque
Kalendis Januarii magna
gloria Consul triumpha-
vit. Ex ea tempestate
spes, atque opes civitatis
in illo sitæ.

*war in Numidia was at an end,
and news was carried to Rome,
that Jugurtha was coming in
chains, Marius, tho' absent, was
made Consul again; and the pro-
vince of Gaul assigned him; and he
triumphed, when Consul, upon
the first of January, with great
glory. From that time forward,
the hopes and security of the Ro-
man state rested upon him.*



O R A



ORATIONES DUÆ

A D

C. CÆSAREM,

SALLUSTIO Adscriptæ.

ORATIO I.

A D

C. CÆSAREM,

De Republica Ordinanda.

I. **P**O P U L U S R. antea obtinebat, regna atque imperia, fortunam dono dare, item alia, quæ per mortalis avide cupiuntur; quia & apud indignos saepe erant, quasi per lubidinem data; neque cuiquam incorrupta permanferant. Sed res docuit id verum esse, quod in carminibus Appius ait, *Fabrum esse suæ quemque fortunæ*; atque in te maxime, qui tantum alios prætergressus es, uti prius defessi sint homines laudando facta tua, quam tu laude digna faciendo. Cæterum uti fabricata, sic virtute parta, quam magna industria haberi decet; ne incuria deformentur, aut corruant infirmata. Nemo enim alteri imperium volens concedit; & quamvis bonus atque clemens sit, qui plus potest; tamen, quia malo esse licet, formidatur. Id evenit, quia plerique rerum potentes perverse consulunt; & eo se munitiores putant, quo illi, quibus imperitant, nequicres fuere.

F f 2

II. At

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II. At contra id eniti decet ; cum ipse bonus, atque strenuus sis, uti quam optumis imperites. Nam pessimum quisque asperime rectorem patitur. Sed tibi hoc gravius est, quam ante te omnibus, armis parta componere. Bellum aliorum pace mollius gessisti ; ad hoc victores prædam petunt, vici cives sunt. Inter has difficultates evadendum est tibi ; atque in posterum firmando respabl. non armis modo, neque adversum hostes, sed, quod multo maius, multoque asperius est, bonis pacis artibus. Ergo omnes magna mediocrius sapientia res huc vocat ; quæ quisque optimæ potest, ut dicat. Ac mihi sic videtur ; qualicumque modo tu victoriam composueris, ita alia omnia futura. Sed jam, quo melius, faciliusque constituas, paucis, quæ me animus monet, accipe.

III. Bellum tibi fuit, imperator, cum homine claro, magnis opibus, avido potentiae, majore fortuna, quam sapientia ; quem sicuti sunt pauci, per suam injuriam tibi inimici, item quos affinitas, aut alia necessitudo traxit. Nam particeps dominationis neque fuit quisquam ; neque, si pati potuisset, orbis terrarum bello concutitus foret. Cætera multitudo vulgi, more magis quam judicio, post aliud alium, quasi prudentiorem, secuti. Per idem tempus maledictis iniquiorum occupandæ reipubl. in spem adducti homines, quibus omnia probro ac luxuria polluta erant, concurrere in castra tua ; & aperte quietis mortem, rapinas, postremo omnia, quæ corruptus animus jubebat, minitari.

IV. Ex quis magna pars, ubi neque creditum condonare, neque te civibus, sicuti hostibus, uti vident, defluxere ; pauci restitere, quibus majus otium in castris, quam Romæ, futurum erat ; tanta vis creditorum impendebat. Sed ob easdem causas, immane dictu est, quanti, & quam multi mortales postea ad Pompejum discesserint ; eoque per omne tempus belli quasi sacro, atque inspoliato fano debitores usi. Igitur, quoniam tibi victori de bello, atque pace, agitandum est ; hoc uti civiliter deponas, illa ut quam justissima, & diurna sit ; de te ipso primum, quia compositurus es, quod optimum factu est, existima. Evidem ego cuncta imperia crudelia, magis acerba, quam diurna, arbitror, neque quemquam a multis metuendum esse, quin ad eum ex multis formido recidat ; eam vitam bellum æternum & anceps gerere ; quoniam neque adversus, neque ab tergo, aut lateribus tutus sis, semper in periculo, aut metu agites.

V. Contra qui benignitate, & clementia, imperium temperavere, his læta & candida omnia visa, etiam hostes equiores, quam aliis cives. An qui me his dictis corruptorem victoriae tuae,

tuae, nimisque in victos bona voluntate prædicent? Scilicet quod ea, quæ externis nationibus, natura hostibus, nosque maioresque nostri sæpe tribuere, ea civibus danda arbitror; neque barbaroritu cæde cædem, & sanguine sanguinem expiandum. An illa, quæ paullo ante hoc bellum in Cn. Pompejum victoriāque Sullanām intrepabantur, oblivio abstulit; interfecit Domitium, Carbonem, Brutum, alios item non armatos, neque in p̄tūlo belli jure, sed post ea supplices per summum scelus intersectos; plebem Romanam in villa publica pecoris modo concissam.

VI. Heu quam illa occulta civium funera, & repentinæ cædes in parentum; aut libeфорum finum; fuga mulierum, & p̄erorum, vastatio domorum! ante partam a te victoriā omnia sæva, atque crudelia erant. Ad quæ te illi iidem hortantur; & scilicet id certatum esse utrius vestrū arbitrio, injuriæ fierent; neque receptam, sed captam a te reimp. & ea cauſa exercitus stipendiis confectis; optimos, & veterimos omnium adversum fratres, parentesque, alii liberos armis contendere; ut ex alienis malis deterrimi mortales ventri atque profundæ libidini sumtus quærerent; atque efflent opprobria victoriae; quorum flagitiis commacularetur bonorum laus.

VII. Neque enim te præterire puto; quali quisque eorum more aut modestia, etiam tum dubia victoria, sese gesserit; quoque modo in belli administratione scorta, aut convivia, exercuerint nonnulli; quorum ætas ne per otium quidem tales voluptates sine dedecore attigerit. De bello satis dictum. De pace firmando quoniam tuque, & omnis tui agitatis; primum id, quæſo, considera, quale id fit, de quo consultas; ita, bonis, malisque dimotis, patenti via ad verum perges. Ego sic existimo, quoniam orta omnia intereunt, qua tempestate urbi Romanæ fatum excidii adventarit; cives cum civibus manus conserfūros; ita defessos, & exsangues regi, aut nationi prædæ futuros. Alter non orbis terrarum, neque cunctæ gentes congregatae, movere, aut contundere queunt hoc imperium. Firmando igitur sunt concordiae bona & discordiae mala expellenda.

VIII. Id ita eveniet, si sumtuum, & rapinarum licentiam demferis; non ad vetera instituta revocans, quæ jam pridem corruptis moribus, ludibrio sunt; sed si suam cuique rem familiarem finem sumtuum statueris; quoniam his incessit mos, ut homines adolescentuli, sua, atque aliena consumere, nihil libidini, atque aliis rogantibus denegare, pulcherrimum putent; eam virtutem, & magnitudinem animi, pudorem, atque modestiam pro societate aestiment. Ergo animus ferox,

prava

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prava via ingressus, ubi consueta non suppetunt, fertur accensus in socios modo, modo in cives; movit composita, & res novas veteribus acquirit. Quare tollendus fenerator in posterum, uti suas quisque res curemus; ea vera, atque simplex via est magistratum populo, non creditori, gerere; & magnitudinem animi in addendo, non demendo reipubl. ostendere.

IX. Atque ego scio, quam aspera hæc res in principio futura sit, præsertim iis, qui se in victoria licentius liberiusque, quam artius, futuros credebant; quorum si saluti potius, quam lubidini, consules; illosque nosque & socios in pace firma constituës. Si eadem studia, artesque juventuti erunt; næ ista egregia tua fama simul cum urbe Roma brevi concidet. Postremo sapientes pacis causa bellum gerunt, laborem spe otii sustentant. Nisi illam firmam efficis, vinci, an viceſſe, quid retulit? Quare capessē per deos rempubl. & omnia aspera, uti soles, pervade. Namque aut tu mederi potes; aut omittenda est cura omnibus. Neque quisquam te ad crudeles poenas, aut acerba judicia, invocat, quibus civitas vastatur magis, quam corrigitur, sed uti pravas artes, malasque lubidines, ab juventute prohibeas.

X. Ea vera clementia erit consuluisse, ne immerito cives patria expellerentur; retinuisse ab stultitia, & falsis voluptatibus; pacem concordiamque stabilivisse; non, si flagitiis obsecutus, delicta perpetius, præsens gaudium cum mox futuro malo concesseris. Ac mihi animus, quibus rebus alii timent, maxime fretus est, negotii magnitudine; & quia tibi terræ, & maria simul omnia componenda sunt, (quippe res parvas tantum ingenium attingere nequit) magnæ curæ magna merces est. Igitur provideas oportet, uti plebes, largitionibus, & publico frumento, corrupta, habeat negotia sua, quibus ab malo publico detineatur; juventus probitati, & industriæ, non sumtibus, neque divitiis, studeat. Id ita eveniet, si pecuniæ, quæ maxima omnium pernicies est usum, atque decus demferis.

XI. Nam saepe ego cum animo meo reputans, quibus quisque rebus clarissimi viri magnitudinem invenissent; quæ res populos nationesve magnis auctoribus auxissent; ac deinde quibus caussis amplissima regna & imperia corruissent; eadem semper bona atque mala reperiebam, omnisque victores divitias contempſſe, & victos cupivisse. Neque aliter quisquam extollere sese, & divina mortalis attingere potest, nisi, omissis pecuniæ & corporis gaudiis, animo indulgens, non aſtentando, neque concupita præbendo, perversam gratiam gratificans; sed in labore, patientia, bonisque præceptis, & factis

factis fortibus exercitando. Nam domum aut villam exstruere, eamque signis, aulæis, aliisque operibus exornare, & omnia potius, quam femet, visendum efficere; id est, non divitias decori habere, sed ipsum illis flagitio esse.

XII. Porro ii, quibus bis die ventrem onerare, nullam noctem sine scorto quiescere mos est; ubi animum, quem dominari decebat, servitio oppessere; nequicquam eo postea hebeti, atque cludo pro exercito uti volunt. Nam imprudentia pleraque, & se præcipitant. Verum hæc & omnia mala pariter cum honore pecuniæ desinent, si neque magistratus, neque alia vulgo cupienda, venalia erunt. Ad hoc providendum est, quonam modo Italia atque provinciæ tutiores sint; id quod factu haud obscurum est. Nam iidem omnia vastant, suas deserendo domos, & per injuriam alienas occupando. Item ne, ut adhuc, militia injusta aut inæqualis fit; cum alii triginta, pars nullum stipendium faciet; & frumentum id, quod antea præmium ignaviae fuit, per municipia & colonias illis dare conveniet, cum stipendiis emeritis domos reverterint. Quæ reipublicæ necessaria, tibique gloria ratus sum, quam paucissimis absolvvi.

XIII. Non pejus videtur, pauca nunc de facto meo differe-re. Plerique mortales ad judicandum satis ingenii habent, aut simulant; veruntamen ad reprehendenda aliena facta, aut dicta ardet omnibus animus; vix satis apertum os, aut lingua prompta videtur, quæ meditata pectore evolvat; quibus me subjec-tum haud poenitet, magis reticuisse pigeret. Nam sive hac, seu meliore alia via perges; a me quidem pro virili parte dic-tum, & adjutum fuerit. Reliquum est, optare, uti, quæ tibi placuerint, ea dii immortales approbent, beneque evenire finant.



ORATIO II.

A D

C. CÆSAREM,

De Republica Ordinanda.

I. **S**CIO ego, quam difficile, atque asperum factu sit, consilium dare regi, aut imperatori; postremo cuiusquam mortali, cuius opes in excelso sunt; quippe cum & illis consultorum copiae adfint; neque de futuro quicquam satis callidus, satisque prudens fit. Quinetiam saepe prava magis, quam bona consilia prospere eveniunt; quia plerasque res fortuna ex lubidine sua agitat. Sed mihi studium fuit adolescentulo rempublicam capessere; atque in ea cognoscenda multam, magnamque curam habui; non ita, uti magistratum modo caperem, quem multi malis artibus adepti erant; sed etiam uti rempubl. domi, militiae, quantumque armis, viris, opulentia posset, cognitum haberem. Itaque mihi multa cum animo agitanti consilium suit, famam, modestiamque meam post tuam dignitatem habere, & cuius rei lubet periculum facere, dum quid tibi ex eo gloriae accederet. Idque non temere, neque ex fortuna, tua decrevi; sed quia in te, praeter cæteras, artem unam egregie mirabilem comperi, semper tibi majorem in adversis, quam in secundis rebus animum esse. Sed per cæteros mortales illa res clarior est, quod prius defessi sint homines laudando atque admirando munificentiam tuam, quam tu faciendo, quæ gloria digna essent.

II. Evidenter mihi decretum est, nihil tam ex alto reperiri posse, quod non cogitanti tibi in promtu sit. Neque ego, quæ visa sunt, de rep. tibi scripsi, quia mihi consilium, atque ingenium meum amplius æquo probaretur; sed inter labores militiae, interque prælia, victorias, imperium, statui admonendum te de negotiis urbanis. Namque tibi si id modo in pectore

pectore confilii est, uti te ab inimicorum impetu vindices, quoque modo contra adversum Consulem beneficia populi retineas; indigna virtute tua cogitas. Sin in te ille animus est, qui jam a principio nobilitatis factionem disturbavit; plebem Rom. ex gravi servitute in libertatem restituit; in prætura inimicorum arma inermis disjecit; domi militiæque tanta, & tam præclara facinora fecit, uti ne inimici quidem queri quidquam audeant, nisi de magnitudine tua; quin accipe tu ea, quæ dicam de summa republ. quæ proœcto aut vera invenies, aut certe haud procul a vero.

III. Sed quoniam Cn. Pompejus aut animi pravitate, aut quia nihil maluit, quam quod tibi obesset, ita lapsus est, ut hostibus tela in manus jaceret; quibus ille rebus rempubl. conturbavit, eisdem tibi restituenda est. Primum omnium, summam potestatem moderandi, de vectigalibus, sumtibus, judiciis, senatoribus paucis tradidit; plebem Romanam, cuius antea summa potestas erat, ne æquis quidem legibus in servitute reliquit. Judicia tametsi, sicut antea, tribus ordinibus tradita sunt; tamen iidem illi factiosi regunt, dant, adimunt, quæ lubet, innocentes circumveniunt; suos ad honorem extollunt.

IV. Non facinus, non probrum, aut flagitium obstat, quo minus magistratus capiant; quod commodum est, trahunt, rapiunt; postremo, tanquam urbe capta, lubidine, ac licentia sua, pro legibus utuntur. Ac me quidem mediocris dolor angeret, si virtute partam victoriam more suo per servitium exercent. Sed homines inertissimi, quorum omnis vis, virtusque in lingua sita est, forte, atque alterius socordia dominationem oblatam insolentes agitant. Nam, quæ seditio, ac dissensio civilis tot tamque illustres familias ab stirpe revertit? aut quorum umquam victoria animus tam præceps, tamque immoderatus fuit? L. Sulla, cui omnia in victoria lege belli licuerunt, tametsi suppicio hostium partes suas muniri intelligebat; tamen, paucis interfectis, cæteros beneficio, quam metu, retinere maluit. At hercule nunc cum Catone, L. Domitio, cæterisque ejusdem factionis, quadraginta senatores, multi præterea cum spe bona adolescentes, sicuti hostiæ, mactati sunt; cum interea importunissima genera hominum tot miserorum civium sanguine satiari nequiere; non orbi liberi, non parentes exacta ætate, non gemitus virorum, luctus mulierum immanem eorum animum inflexit; quin, acerbius in dies male faciendo, ac dicundo, dignitate alios, alios civitate eversum ferrent.

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V. Nam, quid ego de te dicam, cuius contumeliam homines ignavissimi vita sua commutare volunt, si liceat? neque illis tantæ voluptati est (tametsi insperantibus accidit) dominatio, quanto mœrori tua dignitas; quin optatus habent, ex tua calamitate periculum libertatis facere, quam per te populi R. imperium maximum ex magno fieri. Quo magis tibi etiam atque etiam animo prospiciendum est, quoniam modo rem stabilias, communiasque. Mihi quidem quæ mens suppetit, eloqui non dubitabo. Cæterum tui erit ingenii probare, quæ vera, atque utilia factu putes. In duas partes ego civitatem divisam arbitror, sicut a majoribus accepi, in patres, & plebem. Antea in patribus summa auctoritas erat, vis multo maxima in plebe.

VI. Itaque saepius in civitate secessio fuit; semperque nobilitatis opes deminutæ sunt, & jus populi amplificatum. Sed plebes eo libere agitabat; quia nullius potentia super leges erat; neque divitiis, aut superbia, sed bona fama, factisque fortibus nobilis ignobilem anteibat; humillimus quisque in armis, aut militia, nullius honestæ rei egens, satis sibi, factisque patriæ erat. Sed, ubi eos paullatim expulsos agris, inertia, atque inopia incertas domos habere subegit; cœpere alienas opes petere, libertatem suam cum republica venalem habere. Ita paullatim populus, qui dominus cunctis gentibus imperitabat, dilapsus est; & pro communi imperio, privatim sibi quisque servitutem peperit. Hæc igitur multitudo primum malis moribus imbuta, deinde in artes, vitasque varias dispalata, nullo modo inter se congruens, parum mihi quidem idonea videtur ad capeſſendam rem publ.

VII. Cæterum, additis novis civibus, magna me spes tenet, fore, ut omnes expurgiscantur ad libertatem; quippe cum illis libertatis retinendæ, tum his servitutis amittendæ cura orietur. Hos ego censeo, permixtos cum veteribus novos, in coloniis constituas; ita & res militaris opulentior erit, & plebes bonis negotiis impedita malum publicum facere desinet. Sed non inscius, neque imprudens sum, cum ea res agetur; quæ ſævitia, quæque tempestates hominum nobilium futuræ sint, cum indignabuntur omnia funditus misceri, antiquis civibus hanc servitutem imponi, regnum denique ex libera civitate futurum, ubi unius munere multitudo ingens in civitatem pervenerit. Evidem ego sic apud animum meum statuo, malum facinus in se admittere, qui incommode rei publ. gratiam sibi conciliet. Ubi bonum publicum etiam privatim usui est; id vero dubitare aggredi, ſocordiæ, atque ignaviæ duco. M. Livio Druso ſemper confilium fuit, in tribunatu

bunatu summa ope niti pro nobilitate ; neque ullam rem in principio agere intendit, nisi illi auctores fierent. Sed homines factiosi, quibus dolus, atque malitia, fide cariora erant, ubi intellexerunt, per unum hominem maximum beneficium multis mortalibus dari ; videlicet & sibi quisque conscius, malo atque infido animo esse, de M. Livio Druso juxta, ac se, existimaverunt. Itaque metu, ne per tantam gratiam solus rerum potiretur, contra eam nixi, sua ipsius consilia disturbaverunt.

VIII. Quo tibi, imperator, majore cura fideque amici, & multa præsidia paranda sunt. Hostem adversum opprimere, strenuo homini haud difficile est ; occulta pericula neque facere, neque vitare, bonis in promptu est. Igitur, ubi eos in civitatem adduxeris ; quoniam quidem revocata plebes erit, in ea re maxume animum exercitato, uti colantur boni mores ; concordia inter veteres, & novos coalescat. Sed multo maximum bonum patriæ civibus, tibi, liberis, postremo humanæ genti, pepereris, si studium pecuniae aut sustuleris, aut, quoad res feret, minueris. Aliter neque privata res, neque publica, neque domi, neque militiæ, regi potest. Nam ubi cupidio divitiarum invasit ; neque disciplina, neque artes bonaæ, neque ingenium ullum satis pollet ; quin animus magis, aut minus mature, postremo tamen succumbit. Sæpe jam audivi, qui reges, quæ civitates, & nationes, per opulentiam magna imperia amiserint, quæ per virtutem inopes ceperant, id adeo haud mirandum est. Nam ubi bonus deteriorem divitiis magis clarum, magisque acceptum videt ; primo æstuat, multaque in pectore volvit ; sed ubi gloria honorem magis in dies, virtutem opulentia vincit ; animus ad voluptatem a vero deficit.

IX. Quippe gloria industria alitur ; ubi eam demseris, ipsa per se virtus amara, atque aspera est. Postremo, ubi divitiae claræ habentur, ibi omnia bona vilia sunt, fides, probitas, pudor, pudicitia. Nam ad virtutem una, & ardua via est ; ad pecuniam, qua cuique lubet, nititur ; & malis, & bonis rebus ea creatur. Ergo in primis auctoritatem pecuniae demito ; neque, de capite, neque de honore ex copiis quisquam magis, aut minus judicaverit ; si neque prætor, neque consul, ex opulentia, verum ex dignitate creetur. Sed de magistratu facile populi judicium fit. Judices a paucis probari, regnum est ; ex pecunia legi, inhonestum. Quare omnes primæ classis judicare placet, sed numero plures, quam judicant. Neque Rhodios, neque alias civitates umquam suorum judiciorum pœnituit ; ubi promiscue dives, & pauper,

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ut cuique fors tulit, de maxumis rebus juxta, ac de minumis disceptat. Sed de magistratibus creandis haud mihi quidem absurde placet lex, quam C. Gracchus in tribunatu promulgaverat; ut ex confusis quinque classibus sorte centuriæ vocarentur. Ita coæquati dignitate, pecunia, virtute anteire alius alium properabit. Hæc ego magna remedia contra divitias statuo. Nam perinde omnes res laudantur, atque appetuntur, ut earum rerum usus est; malitia præmiis exercetur.

X. Ubi ea demseris, nemo omnium gratuito malus est. Cæterum avaritia bellua fera, immanis, intoleranda est; quo intendit, oppida, agros, sana, atque domos, vastat; divina cum humanis permiscet; neque exercitus, neque mœnia obstant, quo minus vi sua penetret; fama, pudicitia, liberis, patria, atque parentibus cunctos mortales spoliat. Verum, si pecuniæ decus ademeris; magna illa vis avaritiae facile bonis moribus vincetur. Atque hæc ita fese habere, tametsi omnes æqui, atque iniqui memorent; tamen tibi cum factio nobilitatis haud mediocriter certandum est; cujus si dolum carceris, alia omnia in proclivi erunt. Nam hi, si virtute satis valerent, magis æmuli bonorum, quam invidi, essent. Quia defidia, & inertia, & stupor eos, atque torpedo, invafit; strepunt, obtrectant, alienam famam bonam suum dedecus existunt. Sed, quid ego plura, quasi de ignotis memorem? M. Bibuli fortitudo, atque animi vis, in consulatum erupit; hebes lingua, magis malus, quam callidus ingenio. Quid ille audeat, cui consulatus maximum imperium maximo dedecori fuit? An L. Domitii magna vis est, cuius nullum membrum a flagitio aut facinore vacat? lingua vana, manus cruentæ, pedes fugaces; quæ honeste nominari nequeant, inhonestissuma.

XI. Unius tamen M. Catonis ingenium versutum, loquax, callidum haud contemno. Parantur hæc disciplina Græcorum. Sed virtus, vigilancia, labos, apud Græcos nulla sunt. Quippe, qui domi libertatem suam per inertiam amiserunt; censesne eorum præceptis, imperium haberri posse? Reliqui de factione sunt inertissimi nobiles; in quibus, sicut in statua, præter nomen, nihil est additamenti. L. Posthumius, & M. Favonius, mihi videntur quasi magnæ navis supervacua onera esse, ubi salvi pervenere, usui sunt; si quid adversi coortum est, de illis potissimum jactura fit, quia pretii minimi sunt. Nunc quoniam, sicut mihi videor, de plebe renovanda, corrigendaque disserui; de senatu, quæ tibi agenda videntur, dicam. Postquam mihi ætas ingeniumque adolevit, haud ferme armis, atque equis, corpus exercui, sed ani-

animum in litteris agitavi; quod natura firmius erat, id in laboribus habui. Atque ego in ea vita multa legendo, atque audiendo ita comperi, omnia regna, civitates, nationes usque eo prosperum imperium habuisse, dum apud eos vera consilia valuerunt; ubicumque gratia, timor, voluptas, ea corruere; post paullo imminutae opes, deinde ademtum imperium, postremo servitus imposita est.

XII. Evidenter ego sic apud animum meum statuc; cunctumque in sua civitate amplior, illustriorque locus, quam aliis est, ei magnam curam esse republ. Nam cæteris, salva urbe, tantummodo libertas tuta est; qui per virtutem sibi divitias, decus, honorem pepererunt; ubi paullum inclinata respubl. agitari coepit, multiplicitur animus curis, atque laboribus fatigatur; aut gloriam, aut libertatem, aut rem familiarem defensat; omnibus locis adest, festinat; quanto in secundis rebus florentior fuit, tanto in adversis asperius magisque anxie agitat. Igitur ubi plebes senatui, sicuti corpus animo, obedit, ejusque consulta exsequitur; patres consilio valere decet, populo supervacanea est calliditas. Itaque majores nostri cum bellis asperrimis premerentur, equis, viris, pecunia amissa, nunquam defessi sunt armati de imperio certare. Non inopia ærarii, non vis hostium, non adversa res ingentem eorum animum subegit; quin, quæ virtute ceperant, simul cum anima retinerent. Atque ea magis fortibus consiliis, quam bonis præliis, patrata sunt. Quippe apud illos una respubl. erat, ei omnes confubabant; factio contra hostes parabatur; corpus atque ingenium, patriæ, non suæ quisque potentiae, exercitabat.

XIII. At hoc tempore contra homines nobilis, quorum animos socordia, atque ignavia, invasit, ignari laboris, hostium, militiae, domi factione instructi, per superbiam cunctis gentibus moderantur. Itaque patres, quorum consilio antea dubia respubl. stabiliebatur, oppressi, ex aliena libidine huc atque illuc fluctuantes agitantur; interdum alia, deinde alia decernunt; ut eorum, qui dominantur, simultas ac arrogantia fert, ita bonum malumque publicum existumant. Quod si aut libertas æqua omnium, aut sententia obscurior esset; majoribus opibus respubl. & minus potens nobilitas esset. Sed quoniam coæquari gratiam omnium difficile est; quippe cum illis majorum virtus partam reliquerit gloriam, dignitatem, clientelas; cætera multitudo pleraque inscia; sit sententia eorum a metu libera. Ita occulto sibi quisque alterius potentia carior erit. Libertas juxta bonis, & malis, strenuis, atque ignavis optabilis est. Verum eam pleraque metu deserunt, stultissimi mortales; quod in certamine dubium est, quorum accidat,

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id per inertiam in se, quasi victi, recipiunt. Igitur duabus rebus confirmari posse senatum puto; si numero auctus per tabellam sententiam feret.

XIV. Tabella obtentui erit, quo magis animo libero facere audeat; in multitudine, & præsidii plus, & usus amplior est. Nam fere, his tempestatibus, alii judiciis publicis, alii privatis suis atque amicorum negotiis implicati, haud sane reipubl. consiliis adsuerunt; neque eos magis occupatio, quam superba imperia distinuere. Homines nobiles cum paucis senatoris, quos additamenta factionis habent, quæcumque libuit probare, reprehendere, decernere, ea, uti libido tulit, fecere. Verum ubi, numero senatorum aucto, per tabellam sententiæ dicentur; næ illi superbiam suam dimittent, ubi iis obediendum erit, quibus antea crudelissime imperitabant. Forfitan, imperator, perlectis litteris desideres, quem numerum senatorum fieri placeat; quoque modo is in multa, & varia officia distribuatur; & quoniam judicia primæ classis mittenda putem, quæ descriptio, qui numerus in quoque genere futurus sit. Ea mihi omnia generatim describere haud difficile factu fuit; sed prius laborandum visum est de summa consilii, idque tibi probandum verum esse. Si hoc itinere uti decreveris, cætera in promtu erunt. Volo ego consilium meum prudens, maximeque usui esse. Nam ubicunque tibi res prospere cedet, ibi mihi bona fama eveniet. Sed me illa magis cupidio exercet, uti quocumque modo, & quamprimum respubl. adjuvetur. Libertatem gloria cariorem habeo, atque ego te oro, hortorque, ne clarissimus imperator, Gallica gente subacta, populi R. summum atque invictum imperium tabescere vetustate, ac per summam discordiam dilabi, patiaris. Profecto, si id accidat, neque tibi nox, neque dies curam animi sedaverit, quin insomniis exercitus, furibundus, atque amens alienata mente feraris. Namque mihi pro vero constat, omnium mortalium vitam divino numine invisi; neque bonum, neque malum facinus cujusquam pro nihilo haberri; sed ex natura diversa præmia bonos, malosque sequi. Interea forte ea tardius procedunt; suus cuique animus ex conscientia spem præbet.

XV. Quod si tecum patria, atque parentes possent loqui, scilicet hæc tibi dicerent; O Cæsar, nos te genuimus fortissimi viri, in optuma urbe, decus, præsidiumque nobis, hostibus terrorem. Quæ multis laboribus, & periculis ceperamus, ea tibi nascenti cum anima simul tradidimus, patriam maximam in terris; domum, familiamque in patria clarissimam, præterea bonas artes, honestas divitias; postremo omnia honesta-

nestamenta pacis, & præmia belli. Pro his amplissimum beneficiis non flagitium a te, neque malum facinus, petimus ; sed uti libertatem eversam restituas. Qua re patrata, profecto per gentes omnes fama virtutis tuæ volitabit. Namque hac tempestate, tametsi domi, militiaeque præclara facinora egisti ; tamen gloria tua cum multis viris fortibus æqualis est ; si vero urbem amplissimo nomine, & maxumo imperio, prope jam ab occasu restitueris ; quis te clarior, quis major in terris fuerit ? Quippe si morbo jam, aut fato huic imperio secus accidat ; cui dubium est, quin per orbem terrarum vastitas, bella, cædes orientur ? Quod si tibi vana lubido fuerit, patriæ, parentibus gratificandi ; postero tempore republ. restituta, super omnis mortalis gloria agnita, tuaque unius mors vita clarior erit. Nam vivos interdum fortuna, saepe invidia, fatigat ; ubi anima naturæ cessit, demitis obtræctionibus ipsa se virtus magis magisque extollit. Quæ mihi utilia factu visa sunt, quæque tibi usui fore credidi, quam paucissimis potui, perscripsi. Cæterum deos immortales obtestor, uti, quocumque modo ages, ea res tibi, reique publicæ prospere eveniat.

F I N I S.





ANNO 1717

